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USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



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9 SEPTEMBER 1986

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALISM'S ROLE IN SOLVING GLOBAL PROBLEMS

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 pp 212-219

[Article by V. Los, candidate in philosophical sciences (Scientific Council under the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences on "Philosophical and Social Problems of Science and Technology"): "Socialism and Global Problems"]

[Text] A complex of global problems related to contemporary civilization, their influence on the life of society, scientific methods of solving them, and the role played by socialism in solving them were discussed at an international conference held in Prague on 4--6 June 1985. Taking part in it were more than 100 scholars in the most diverse fields of specialization from academic and other scientific institutions of the PRB, HPR, SRV, GDR, PPR, USSR, and CSSR, representatives from research centers in Italy, Canada, Finland, France, as well as from international organizations (UNEP [United Nations Environmental Program], Institute of Life, etc.). Approximately 50 reports and communiqués were discussed.

In opening the conference, the vice-president of the CzSAN [Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences], Academician ZD. SNITIL emphasized that the cardinal solution of global problems presupposes the creation of a socio-economic system which would ensure the harmonious nature of mutual relations among man, society, and nature. From the Marxist point of view it is obvious that socialism offers precisely such a system. At the same time, the need to regulate and control the processes of a global nature has today become an imperative for international cooperation among states with differing social structures, combining all the peace-loving forces of this planet and the worldwide scientific community.

J. PECEN, the director of the CzSAN Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, characterized the top-priority importance of science in solving the entire aggregate of contemporary global problems. By speeding up scientific, technical, and social processes, science confronts society with a complex of new, complicated phenomena. Adequate analysis of and solutions to these phenomena require further development of scientific knowledge. The social consequences of scientific and technical progress are different in principle in opposing socio-economic systems, and, in order to thoroughly study and evaluate these consequences, including those on the level of the world community, a class-type approach is necessary.

The particular acuteness of global problems under the conditions of capitalism has facilitated the erosion of the traditional bourgeois values and the historically shaped guidelines of scientific cognition. It is certainly not by chance that in the Western countries there has been an increase in the critical attitude with regard to science and to its potentials for solving these problems. Likewise indicative is the revival of interest in Eastern mysticism and speculation on religious traditions. In rejecting abstract ideas of a "super-class nature," as well as idealistic interpretations of global problems, Marxists proceed from a unity of scientific and social approaches. Under the conditions of socialism, the development of science, including those of its trends which are new in principle, is subordinate to humanistically socially purposive positions. This ensures the solution of society's large-scale, technical-economic and social problems.

In their joint report V. ZAGLADIN and Corresponding-Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences I. FROLOV (USSR) noted that only a socialist society can fully evaluate the revolutionary role and profound social consequences of utilizing such new developments as microelectronics, information science, biotechnology, and so forth. Socialism by its very nature corresponds in the highest degree to the new technology; it ensures the "high contiguity" of the entire society with it. Of course, the possibilities of socialism in this, as well as in other fields, are not implemented by themselves, but require constant energetic efforts and a creative approach. "Human contact" with the new technology and its humanistic evaluation coincide with the principal value-orientation of our society--an orientation keyed to the integrated, harmonious development of man as a worker. Mankind needs new social, scientific, and moral-humanistic ideals, guidelines, and values. These must be determined by the new conditions of its existence. The humanism of Marxism and genuine socialism is based on the idea of the objective, international communality of mankind, i.e., it includes global approaches.

Serving as a practical implementation of this communality in the modern-day epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism is the principle of peaceful co-existence among states having different social systems. Based on the given principle, effective collective measures can and must be undertaken to solve global problems, above all, to avert nuclear war. This is a question of saving mankind, of protecting its future; it is the most important prerequisite for building a new world civilization, one in which the development of human nature has become a goal in itself.

A significant amount of space in the report by V. Zagladin and I. Frolov was allocated to a critique of the anti-Marxist interpretations of global problems. They pointed out that bourgeois scholars are seeking a way out of the overall crisis of capitalism, exacerbated as a result of the appearance of these problems, with the aid of partial reforms--without touching upon the main thing--the outmoded, private-capitalist principles of management. What they advance are the Utopian concepts of the "new civilization," the "information society," etc. Ever-increasing efforts are being applied to working out questions of a strategy for state control, for setting forth new, including "extra-economic," values as incentives for social development. In other words, capitalism is striving to adapt itself to present-day conditions connected with changes on a global scale, with a level of scientific and technical progress which is different in principle.

A number of reports at the conference were devoted to theoretical-methodological aspects of analyzing global problems. The scholars from the socialist countries emphasized the fact that the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism contain conceptual positions and theoretical postulates providing a philosophical and methodological basis for analyzing the entire system of the 20th century's global problems. It is precisely dialectical and historical materialism which, by revealing the leading principles of scientific and social development, shows the true path for solving these problems, stated G. BANSE (GDR). This speaker proposed a classification of the elements of the system of global problems, including, first of all, the problem of war and peace.

The great importance of a humanistic approach in interpreting global problems was pointed out by G. Klimashevski (GDR). Such an approach, in his words, allows us to integrate diverse world views, socio-cultural positions, etc. M. BEHAR (PRB) noted that global problems constitute an example of an object of theoretical and practical types of study, where the systems approach, based on dialectical-materialistic views, is particularly effective and constructive. This speaker justified the necessity for making the transition from an analysis of global problems to working out a complex of scientific and social measures for their practical solution. On this level, G. QUARANTE (Italy) emphasized the importance of the social sciences; the informational component, in his opinion, is the most important instrument for regulating global processes.

The report by Academician O. BOGOMOLOV (USSR) opened a series of presentations on the socio-economic aspects of the topics under discussion. Ensuring the normal functioning of the world economy, the development of foreign economic ties on an equitable, mutually profitable basis, must be included among the most important global problems of the present day. Can we anticipate in the foreseeable future a restoration of health to the world economic situation? What role will be played in this process by improvement of the economic relations between the East and West? These two questions became pivotal in the report. It contained a fundamental analysis of world economic trends. Emphasized here was the need for joint searches by the world community for optimal solutions, facilitating the creation of favorable conditions for foreign-trade exchange, a basic restructuring of world production and international trade, a rationally effective utilization of raw-material and energy resources, as well as environmental protection. Business-like cooperation with the socialist world, where the economy has been placed on a firm, planned basis, is capable of introducing an element of stability into the system of foreign economic ties between the capitalist and the developing countries.

It is precisely the solution of socio-economic problems which is opening up the way to overcome the global contradictions which have a negative effect on the regional problems. This relates, in the first place, to the developing states, noted A. HOLUB (CSSR). The socio-economic difficulties in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are being exacerbated by socio-demographic processes.

Despite the assertions of the bourgeois ideologists and Western politicians, the "demographic explosion," E. ARAB-OGLY (USSR) emphasized, is hardly a direct source of socio-economic difficulties either on a regional or on a

global level. On the contrary, it is precisely the still-retained economic backwardness of the developing countries which is the principal reason for demographic problems becoming global ones. Speeding up scientific and technical progress, raising the cultural level of the population, will, undoubtedly, to a significant degree, bring closer the solution of these problems.

Demographic processes, particularly in the developing countries, are connected in the closest possible way with the problems of providing food. The crisis nature of the capitalist system hardly facilitates the solution of the world's food problem, stated E. MASEK, corresponding-member of the CzSAN. According to the forecasts of the FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization], the food situation in the world will not improve by the beginning of the 21st century. This speaker revealed the social prerequisites for effectively solving the given problem and indicated ways to provide food for mankind (intensification of agricultural production, biotechnology, photosynthesis, growth stimulators, etc.). The role of scientific and technical progress in the matter of increasing the productivity of agricultural production was pointed out in his presentation by Academician J. PROHAZKA of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In the first place, according to P. BISOGNO (Italy), what must be discussed is the bio-technical revolution, i.e., combining the traditional biological and the new bio-engineering systems, ensuring the control of the natural processes along the lines necessary for human society. It is important, in this connection, the speaker emphasized, to have precise socio-cultural guidelines.

In considering the problems of scientific and technical progress, P. AUERSPERG (of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA) stated his opinion about the reality of the "third industrial revolution." What he had in mind was the onset of the age of robotization and computerization, the consequences of which are manifesting themselves unevenly in various socio-economic systems. The rapid pace of mass robotization in the capitalist countries has a negative effect on the situation of working people; it leads to a growth of unemployment, underemployment, etc. Social changes are also taking place in the socialist countries under the influence of the "third industrial revolution." In particular, the value positions are being changed, working time is being reduced, while leisure time is being increased, conditions are being created for the multi-faceted development of the individual, etc. G. KOVACS (GDR) provided a more detailed analysis of the specific manifestations of the "micro-processor revolution" within socio-economic systems which are opposed to each other.

M. PITTNER (CSSR) spoke about the problems which the present-day stage of scientific and technical progress has assigned to scientific control. He drew attention to the importance of systems analysis, providing, in particular, the scientific foundations for regulating global processes. His presentation emphasized that only by taking the social context into account can we foresee the negative consequences connected with the introduction of new equipment and avert them. In connection with this opinion, P. MEDOU [?] (Canada) stated that the market mechanisms, by absolutizing the importance of the monetary equivalent ("economic reductionism"), do not create adequate prerequisites for modelling global processes.

Discussed at the conference in Prague were the status and prospects for developing the contemporary socio-ecological situation within the context of global problems. Academician N. MOISEYEV (USSR) established the grounds for the reality of making the transition from the spontaneous, elemental self-organization of nature and society to a purposive process of development, i.e., converting the biosphere into a noosphere (according to V. Vernadskiy). In this speaker's opinion, we can speak about the controlled development of society when the following three conditions are observed: 1) the purposes of the control have been precisely formulated; 2) the instrumentalities for evaluating the appropriate actions have been developed; 3) the mechanisms of control have been created. This report presented the results of studies being conducted at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Computer Center on working out a system of models which simulate the functioning of the biosphere. The presentation by V. LOS (USSR) mentioned the scientific and social problems arising during the course of the changes in the present-day, global, socio-ecological situation.

CzSAN Academician V. BARUS characterized the noosphere as a system of rational control, conditioned by social attitudes. Evolution of the biosphere into the noosphere constitutes a process of implementing a global ecological strategy. What we are talking about is a drawing closer together of economic and ecological goals, about combining regional and global approaches. Society must, without postponing things to the future, create such a mechanism as would ensure the effective and constructive combination of the economic principles of development with the present-day ecological imperatives.

We cannot fail to see the dialectical contradictions between the growth of the needs for social production and the relative, limited quality of the potentials of the biosphere. Under the conditions of the socialist system of management scientific and technical progress makes it possible to avert the destructive processes in nature. However, there still remains a significant amount of work to be done along these lines. CzSAN Academician B. RYSAVY acquainted the conference participants with the results of studies which show the effect of chemical substances of technogenic origin on the intensification of agricultural production, as well as on individual components of the environment. CzSAN corresponding-member M. KOPECKY examined the inter-relationships within the "geosphere--biosphere" system. A. SLEPICKA (CSSR) elucidated questions concerning the degradation of the environment as a result of the uncontrolled growth of urbanization processes.

The importance of the ecological approach as the most significant regulator supporting the balance between historically formed ecosystems was substantiated by P. TROJAN (PPR). Polish Academy of Sciences corresponding-member CH. CHOLAJ indicated that the internationalization of the world economy could not help but affect the ecological situation in the world. This internationalization convincingly demonstrates the crisis nature of the ecological situation in the developed capitalist countries; it reveals the possibilities, and sometimes even the difficulties in the given area under the conditions of building socialism.

Specific problems of nature-protection activity were analyzed in detail on the basis of materials from Czechoslovakia and the GDR. G. HORSTMANN (GDR) shared the experience of industrial development on the basis of very rigorous

observance of the principles of environmental protection, which has yielded positive results (reduction of emissions into the biosphere, savings on resources, etc.). Having revealed the specifics of the social-ecological situation in Czechoslovakia (considerable population concentration, a number of ecologically unfavorable production facilities, characteristics of the natural-climatic conditions, etc.), J. POSPESIL (CSSR) showed that the positive approach to the national socio-ecological situation is based upon a state program in the field of environmental protection, reinforced by fundamental scientific developments. Solution of the global ecological problem, as L. SAMUEL (HPR) emphasized, requires not delaying scientific and technical progress, as frequently called for by bourgeois authors, but further intensification of public production, taking into account all ecological factors of development and the possibilities for cooperation in this field.

Activity within the framework of the UN Program on environmental protection (UNEP) [United Nations Environmental Program] in the field of global ecological processes was discussed by B. IVANOV, who represented this organization at the conference. M. BOCHVAROV (PRB) and G. MJULLER (CSSR) also devoted their presentations to the problems of international scientific cooperation. In particular, the latter drew attention to the trend, being intensified at the present time, toward more closely combining studies of global problems on the national, regional, and world levels. In the first place, this pertains to problems connected with scientific and technical progress and with the use of new technologies.

What was stated above likewise fully pertains to forecast-type research. Bourgeois futurology, noted A. BENISCH (GDR), in developing world forecasts--ranging from local to global--is attempting to impose its own class concepts concerning the prospects for contemporary civilization on public opinion. After thoroughly analyzing the existing forecast-type models, G. STRUWING (GDR) drew conclusions concerning their greater combination in constructing quantitative and qualitative methods. However, the extra-class approach of bourgeois authors to the construction of global models does not allow them to work out adequate scenarios for world development. V. KOMAREK (CSSR) talked about the development of a comprehensive forecast of Czechoslovakia's socio-economic progress, taking global problems into consideration. VAN TAO (SRV) summarized Vietnam's national experience in solving the long-term problems of social development.

Running like a red thread through all the reports and presentations delivered at the conference was the thought that the most important problem within the system of global problems is that of preserving peace and averting a thermo-nuclear catastrophe. A particular danger for the cause of peace is now presented by the attempt among the aggressive circles of imperialism to transfer the arms race into space, the speakers emphasized. The Czechoslovak scholars L. VANIEV, M. SOUKUP, and S. PADEJDL described the catastrophic consequences of a possible nuclear war. They pointed out the role of the CSSR and the other countries of the socialist community in the struggle for detente and disarmament.

Thirty years ago the famous Russell-Einstein Manifesto was published; it contained a call for people to learn how to think in a new way in the nuclear age.

In connection with this anniversary, the participants in the Prague conference issued a call to scholars and the international community to step up the struggle for peace and disarmament, to learn how to think and act in a new way vis-a-vis the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe and the danger of exacerbating all the fundamental global problems. Their appeal emphasizes the close interconnection between the problems of peace and disarmament, on the one hand, and the system of contemporary global problems, on the other hand.

The importance of the conference held in Prague is defined by the fact that it was one of the first international scientific meetings at which social scientists, together with representatives from the natural and technical sciences, examined the entire system of contemporary global problems. To a certain extent, the results of comprehensive studies on these problems were summed up; moreover, this was done for studies conducted not only in the socialist countries but also those in capitalist countries. Prospects were outlined for further studies and for strengthening cooperation between scholars. It was decided to hold the next international scientific conference on global problems in 1988 in the GDR.

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

ROME MEETING DISCUSSES INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE

PM060925 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 86 Second Edition p 4

[Special correspondent N. Prozhogin report: "Dialogue in Rome: International Meeting of Politicians and Public Figures"]

[Text] Rome, Moscow -- Among the inhabitants of the Eternal City, as they call Rome, there has long been a superstition that it will cease to exist when the last traces of gilt disappear from the ancient statue of Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Now the pedestal is temporarily empty -- the statue has been removed for restoration. Although few modern Romans believe in the ancient tradition, it must be supposed that the restoration workers will take care to preserve the gilt on the statue, all the same.

But how can not only Rome, but our entire planet be preserved from the nuclear catastrophe which threatens it? This question is of increasing concern to the world public. The quest for an answer to it was the purpose of an international meeting held in Rome recently, organized by the local municipality in conjunction with the Italian Foreign Ministry within the framework of UN International Peace year.

Nearly 100 people came to Rome for the meeting from several dozen countries on the 5 continents -- state and public figures, people from science and culture, mayors or their deputies from a number of capital cities (including Moscow), priests, and journalists. Representing capitalist, socialist, and developing countries (including developing countries of various orientations), they naturally expressed varying political and ideological views.

The slogan for the meeting was chosen accordingly: "Dialogue -- The Universal Basis of Peace." It was rare for any speech not to touch on the main problem of today -- the prevention of nuclear war. That is understandable. With the creation of nuclear weapons, the world became too small and fragile for wars and strong-arm policies.

Unfortunately, the international dialogue which is taking place at various levels has yet to yield substantial results. The disarmament problem remains unresolved. This was spoken of at the opening of the meeting by B. Craxi, who was still acting prime minister after the Italian Government

which he headed had resigned. The Soviet-American meeting in Geneva, he stated, engendered great hopes throughout the world, and everything possible must be done to ensure that the dialogue launched there is not broken off.

These are good intentions. However, it should be noted that the success of international dialogue depends to a considerable extent on the position of other countries. For instance, the intention of the governments of certain Western states, Italy among them, to take part in work under the American plan for the so-called, "strategic defense initiative" clearly does not promote this.

Warnings were given in Rome, with justified concern, that the stockpiled mountains of nuclear weapons and especially the creation of new types of weapons of mass destruction carry the threat of worldwide disaster. The meeting also spoke of the need to learn lessons from the accident at the Chernobyl AES and the Challenger tragedy, which showed that even the most sophisticated technology is far from perfect and that its use in creating new types of arms is in itself fraught with tremendous danger.

That was the mood of many of the speeches. Many, but unfortunately not all. Thus, for instance, one member of the U.S. delegation, (Dzh. Brauning), a diplomat with the rank of ambassador, based his speech on the Latin saying "If you want peace, prepare for war." Not for nothing did the participants in the meeting who spoke after him return repeatedly to this proposition, referring to its unacceptability in the nuclear age.

The speech of the U.S. President's special adviser E. Rowney was equally infelicitous. While acknowledging the weight of the latest Soviet proposals, which provide for substantial reductions in conventional arms and armed forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, he nevertheless kept quiet about the Soviet Union's other peace initiatives. Moreover he devoted a considerable proportion of his report to attempting to justify the U.S. renunciation of observance of the SALT II Treaty's provisions, justifying this dangerous step by the American administration with empty claims that agreements concluded earlier are supposedly being violated by the Soviet Union.

It goes without saying that these "arguments" which are intended to justify the arms race which the United States is spurring on, and in future its extension into space, were resolutely refuted by us. The fact that by no means everyone, even in the United States, thinks like that emerged during the Rome meeting. Thus the speech by Cardinal J. Bernadin from Chicago was in the spirit of the pastoral message of the American national conference of Catholic bishops, which condemned the "star wars" plans.

The Soviet delegates' reports and the speeches of representatives of other socialist community countries counterposed to attempts to justify the arms race such concrete actions as the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium

on nuclear explosions and the numerous proposals aimed at delivering mankind from nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and preventing the militarization of space. In putting these forward, the socialist community countries do not, of course, refuse to examine counterproposals, as the very concept of dialogue presupposes.

A great impression was made on the participants in the meeting by the speech by former Federal Chancellor of Austria B. Kreisky, who chaired one of the sessions. On the basis of his own experience as a statesman, he basically devoted his speech to a refutation of the fabrications which are widespread in the West about the Soviet Union's supposed aggressiveness and the mythical "Soviet military threat." Noting the "historic role" of the program of domestic transformations adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, he stated that this corresponds to the "global policy of peace and detente" which is being pursued in the international arena by the present Soviet leadership, the sincerity of whose intentions should not be called into question.

At the concluding session, G. Andreotti delivered a speech. Calling for the widening and deepening of international dialogue, the Italian statesman insisted, in particular, on the need for this dialogue not to be confined solely to talks between the USSR and the United States and for other countries to play an active part in tackling the burning issues of today.

A good end to the meeting's work was provided by the address by UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar, who called for a strengthening of the role of the world forum in the life of the international community.

The dialogue conducted for 3 days on the Capitoline Hill in Rome became a place for comparing and counterposing different and often contradictory views on the most urgent problems. And although it did not reduce them to a common denominator, it is to be hoped that it did serve to some extent to bring that goal closer.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

INTERDEPENDENCE OF DEVELOPED, DEVELOPING COUNTRIES EMPHASIZED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 86 pp 2-6

[Article by N. Simonya: "On the Path of Independent Historical Creativity"]

[Excerpts] As of those distant times even when the comparatively small party of Russian Bolsheviks conducted a revolutionary struggle under strictly clandestine conditions it has taken into consideration in its strategy such an important factor as the national liberation movement of colonial and semicolonial peoples. With the onset of the era of the Great October the significance of this factor grew immeasurably. In its program documents and practical activity the CPSU invariably pays great attention to the role of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples' role in the world historical process. Fully in keeping with this tradition, the 27th CPSU Congress, having approved the new version of the party program, attentively analyzed the situation in the zone of the emergent countries. The section of the CPSU Program devoted to relations with these countries begins thus: "In determining policy in respect of former colonial and semicolonial countries the CPSU proceeds from the fact that the embarkation of formerly enslaved peoples on the path of independence and the emergence of dozens of new states and their increased relative significance in world politics and economics is a distinguishing feature of the current era."*

Enormous changes are occurring literally before our eyes in the zone of the former colonial and semicolonial world. In the years of independence many developing countries (DC) have scored pronounced successes in economic and cultural building and the consolidation of national statehood. Of course, under the conditions of the operation of the "demonstration effect," which is intensifying as a result of the DC's diverse broad contacts with the developed states, the impression could be (and frequently is) created that the group of DC as a whole is developing insufficiently rapidly. Indeed, were it not for the resistance of neocolonialism and the existence of unjust

* "CPSU Program. New Version," Moscow, 1986, p 64.

international economic relations within the framework of the world capitalist economy (WCE), their development could undoubtedly have been accelerated considerably.

What is the place of the DC in the modern world economy?

The times are long gone when the slogan "standing on one's own two feet," which was interpreted with a strong isolationist accent, was highly popular among a relatively large proportion of DC. The fact of the "comprehensive connection and comprehensive dependence of the nations on one another,"* which was noted by K. Marx and F. Engels in the "Communist Manifesto" in the mid-19th century even, is not now disputed by any intelligent person. An exceptionally high level of interconnection and interdependence has already been reached today, of course. And it is not merely a question of the quantitative aspect here. It is primarily a question of a qualitatively new level of interdependence requiring of contemporary statesmen fundamentally new thinking and a new approach to problems of international relations.

"Yes, I am convinced that at the present stage of international relations, which is characterized by states' greater interconnectedness and their interdependence, a new policy is required," M.S. Gorbachev replied to a question at a press conference following the completion of the top-level Soviet-American meeting in Geneva. In our time questions of the security, prosperity and development of some peoples cannot be resolved without regard for the interests of the security, prosperity and development of other peoples. So it should be. But in practice this growing interdependence is resulting for different members of the world community in its own different aspects. For the DC, for example, it still bears a strong imprint of the former colonial interdependence and for this reason predetermines inequality and exploitation.

Western scholars and politicians usually put the emphasis on the fact of interdependence, attempting to gloss over its negative aspects. Some of them speak primarily of the West's increased dependence on the DC, endeavoring to thus justify neocolonialist expansionist aspirations in the zone of the former colonial and semicolonial countries. Thus in a joint brochure of recommendations devoted to the subject of the West's security the directors of influential international relations institutes of four countries--the United States, Britain, the FRG and France--wrote at the start of 1981 that the West "will be increasingly dependent on the third world in its economic existence" and that "in this context questions of Western security can no longer be reduced merely to events and threats arising in the NATO region." Let us see, however, how things are in reality and what the existing nature of the division of labor in which the DC have to participate is.

A world economic survey prepared in 1985 by UN experts contains, inter alia, a table of data on the ratio of exports and the gross domestic product in 1982 in different groups of countries providing a certain, albeit not exhaustive, idea of the degree of their economies' dependence on the international division

* K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 4, p 428.

of labor. The table shows graphically that the dependence of the developed capitalist countries on the world market is as a whole far lower--15.8 percent of their gross domestic product--than among the developing countries--22.4 percent. Furthermore, only 5 percent of the gross domestic product of the developed capitalist countries (DCC) is exported to the DC (that is, less than one-third of their exports), whereas the latter export to the DCC 14.3 percent of their gross domestic product (that is, approximately two-thirds of total exports). Incidentally, the corresponding indicators for the United States are the lowest: only 7.2 percent of its gross domestic product is exported, including only 2.6 percent to the DC. Is this not the deep-lying economic root of the arrogant disregard with which the United States treats the demands for a new international economic order? Further, reciprocal exchange within the framework of the DCC accounts for two-thirds of this subgroup's exports, whereas for the DC the corresponding indicator constitutes roughly one-third.

These data alone (even without regard for the specific commodity structure of the exports) indicate the high level of dependence precisely of the DC on the DCC, but by no means the reverse.

Nonetheless, we cannot overlook the obvious fact that the role of the DC in the world economy is growing constantly. At the start of the 1980's even the DC were producing six times more in the way of goods and services than in 1950. In the same 30 years their industrial production increased eightfold. The gross accumulation of capital in 1981 was 4.5 times greater than in 1960. This rate of development of the emergent states is convincing confirmation of the conclusion contained in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the party congress that "objects of imperialist policy in the past lacking all rights, they have embarked on the road of independent historical creativity."

As distinct from economic integration, the process of the political incorporation of the DC in the world community has occurred, at least in the formal-legal respect, automatically, as it were, with the achievement of independence. The new version of the CPSU Program observes that the party advocates "the emergent countries' equal participation in international affairs and their increased contribution to the solution of most important present-day problems."* Understandably, however, the achievement of these goals and the conversion of all DC into real and equal subjects of international relations are being impeded in every possible way by the imperialist forces. After all, the DCC, particularly the leading imperialist powers, are guided in international relations by the concept of power. Consequently, the role of each state is determined in practice in accordance with the economic, military-political and natural-geographic potential which it possesses.

In this situation exceptional significance was attached to the DC's recognition of the fact of the community of their fate and the formulation on this basis of collective forms of anti-imperialist struggle for their economic and

* "CPSU Program. New Version," p 66.

political interests. The collectivist approach based on nonalignment, which became possible only under the conditions of the coexistence of the two world systems and the friendly support for the DC by the socialist countries, was intended to compensate to a certain extent for the inadequacy of the potentials of individual DC. The nonaligned movement does not represent here merely an arithmetical sum of the corresponding number of participating states. The result was a new quality--the conversion of these states into an important and active factor of present-day international relations--a factor disregard of which would mean leaving the soil of reality.

Of course, the political assertiveness and level of conversion of the DC into subjects of international relations differed in different periods of postwar history and were dissimilar for this country or the other in the same period. Under these conditions the nonaligned movement has represented at each given historical moment the resultant, as it were, of the sum total of the main aspirations of its participants. But the resultant has not remained invariable: there has been a certain shifting of emphases in the very understanding of the essence and goals of the nonaligned movement from the time of its emergence through our day.

In the 1960's national aspects predominated in the nonaligned movement's approach to the tasks of the struggle for peace. This was not surprising--it was a time of the collapse of the political system of colonialism and the emergence of young national states in the "cold war" atmosphere on the international scene. The participating countries saw the practical realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence championed by the movement as the main guarantee of their survival, national revival and free development. In the 1970's the emphasis was put in questions of the struggle for peace predominantly on the special nature of the international interests of this group of countries and a certain exaggeration of the role of nonalignment in the achievement of peace worldwide.

A distinctive reflection of the "equidistance" concept in this period was, for example, the endeavor of certain nonaligned countries to distance themselves from participation in the solution of such global problems of the present day as the struggle against the arms race and for disarmament and detente, taking cover behind arguments to the effect that "the first necessity is development, and then we can concern ourselves with disarmament," that "the DC could benefit little from disarmament," that this is "a matter for the great powers" and so forth.

However, the interconnection of development and disarmament is today such that the first is deprived of historical meaning without the second. Development becomes hopeless without a halt to the arms race and disarmament since in the event of a world thermonuclear war there would simply be no one to enjoy the fruits of development. I believe that no formulation of the question of the interconnection of disarmament and development can be reduced to their juxtaposition. The emphasizing of the pressing urgency of a halt to and suspension and turning back of the arms race is in no way tantamount to a call for inactivity in the development sphere. Both these global problems must be solved simultaneously. They are two important aspects of a common historical task--ensuring the security and survival of mankind in general.

It is no accident, therefore, that the CPSU Central Committee report to the 27th party congress emphasizes the idea that mankind "needs also an all-embracing system of international economic security which would protect in equal measure each state against discrimination, sanctions and other attributes of imperialist, neocolonialist policy. Such a system could be, together with disarmament, a dependable foundation of international security in general." The political report includes proposals for the convening in the future of a world economic security congress and the elaboration of principles of the use for the good of the world community, primarily the DC, of part of the resources which would be released as a result of the reduction in military budgets.

An understanding of the fact of the closest interconnection of efforts pertaining to national revival and the struggle for peace on a global scale and an understanding of the entire urgency and imperative nature of the accomplishment of the general task of preventing nuclear war have come to be manifested increasingly distinctly and broadly in the nonaligned movement since the start of the 1980's. Under current conditions, when the increasingly great likelihood of an escalation of local conflicts to a global level is being mentioned and when such conflicts could easily play the part of detonator of a thermonuclear world war, there has been a marked growth of the sense of responsibility of an increasingly large number of emergent countries for the fate of the whole world. This manifests, inter alia, the further intensification of the process of the conversion of the nonaligned countries into subjects of world history.

Today's world is indivisible, and the DC are an integral part thereof. However, as distinct from highly developed states, the DC, with their complex social structures weighed down with the remnants of colonialism and traditionalism, exist in two dimensions, as it were, simultaneously. They are already a part of today, but in some respects are still tackling tasks of preceding eras, and the processes of socioeconomic and political modernization in the DC are occurring extremely unevenly, what is more, which is the cause of the intensifying and broadening differentiation of these countries. We would also note that all the above-mentioned processes are occurring in an atmosphere of the incomplete state of the processes of national-ethnic and religious consolidation and stabilization and the grim colonial legacy expressed, inter alia, in the fact that certain peoples and tribes are artificially divided by the boundaries of the former colonies. All this taken together forms the basis of heightened disputation as a characteristic feature of the situation in the zone of the emergent countries.

In the light of what has been said above the idea prevalent among certain Western circles that an integral part of the process of detente between developed countries should be promotion of the social and political status quo among the DC would seem quite naive. The social development and national liberation of these countries cannot be "prohibited," just as history cannot be prohibited. In addition local conflicts between DC would not in themselves, outside of a global context--however regrettable the fact that they had arisen--represent a catastrophic danger of the fate of the world community. The point is, however, that today, in the latter half of the 20th century, these conflicts do not exist in themselves. The world is now more interconnected than ever, and for this reason there is a perfectly real and constantly intensifying trend of local conflicts moving toward the regional and even global levels.

As the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress observed, objective conditions have taken shape now "under which the confrontation between capitalism and socialism can proceed only and exclusively in forms of peaceful coexistence and peaceful rivalry." In this situation the aggressive imperialist forces are attempting to transfer the rivalry of the two systems to the zone of the DC, using the channels of local conflicts. Such endeavors recently acquired their "theoretical substantiation" even in the United States in the "neoglobalism" concept. It is here that the particular danger of local and regional conflicts lies. The U.S. Administration's attempts to explain the objective processes in the zone of the DC by "Moscow's interference" and on this basis "link" the solution of the global questions of disarmament and development with the settlement of regional conflicts (the exacerbation of which is being inspired, furthermore, in the majority of cases by the United States itself) cannot be categorized other than as the conscious piling up of artificial obstacles and barriers in the way of the achievement of general peace and the security of the peoples.

"An integral part of the world revolutionary process is THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE OF PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE CAST OFF THE COLONIAL YOKE FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS," the new version of the CPSU Program says.* It is from this that primarily the Soviet Union proceeds in its policy in respect of the DC.

Of course, the forms and even the content of the liberation struggle of former colonial and semicolonial countries have undergone over the many decades appreciable and, what is more, nonequivalent changes. For the majority of countries of Asia, Africa and, even more, Latin America the stage of armed or radical political struggle for political sovereignty is already long past, although there are in the world still peoples (albeit few) languishing under the yoke of racism, colonialism and Zionism, peoples deprived of their national statehood. The time of "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder," which was so characteristic of the first two decades of independent development, the time of heightened expectations and exaggerated ideas culminating in a number of instances in failures, defeats and retreats, has also passed, in the main. But there has followed not a period of disenchantment and depression (although these occurred in places) but a reinterpretation of values and a reassessment of realities, an adjustment of strategic aims and the substantiation of the tactics of struggle. In a word, the anti-imperialist movement of the emergent peoples has entered its mature period.

The CPSU advocates the development of relations with all national-progressive forces adhering to anti-imperialist and patriotic positions. All historical experience since WWII testifies that there is a real and multilevel basis for the USSR's cooperation with the young states which are proceeding along the capitalist path. Such cooperation is based primarily on the common interest in the preservation of peace, the strengthening of international security and the cessation of the arms race and in the struggle for a rebuilding of international economic relations on a just, democratic basis.

* "CPSU Program. New Version." p 19.

The USSR's solidarity and political and economic cooperation with countries of a socialist orientation is contributing to a large extent to the strengthening of the alliance of the forces of social progress and national liberation.

"The Soviet Union," the new version of the CPSU Program says, "has to the extent of its powers rendered and will continue to render the peoples proceeding along these routes assistance in economic and cultural building, the training of national personnel, an increase in defense capability and in other spheres."*

Lenin's idea concerning the interaction of different streams of the world revolutionary process, including world socialism and the peoples of the emergent states, is the guarantee that the hopes of mankind for a peaceful, free and happy life will be made reality.

* "CPSU Program. New Version," p 65.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

STRUGGLE AGAINST 'NEOCOLONIALISM' IN AFRICA SURVEYED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 86 pp 16-21

[Article by TASS Political Observer Sergey Kulik: "Battles En Route"]

[Excerpts] Newspaper files of the start of the 1960's.... The events which the Dark Continent was living when the OAU had only just been set up and the African peoples were either commemorating the first anniversaries of independence or struggling to acquire it are resurrected in the memory.

From Internecine Strife to a Struggle for General Peace

Of course, in those years also the African press which reflected the public frame of mind worried about questions of the choice of development path and socioeconomic transformations, but the background for their discussion and solution was invariably tribalism, regionalism and separatism.

"It is a kind of growing illness," I was once told in Lusaka by Jack Woddis, the important British Marxist African scholar. "It will be sufficient for two-three generations of Africans to have grown up under conditions of independence for the ethnic factor to have ceased to dominate in politics. Having overcome its past isolation, Africa will have become actively involved in international life."

As yet only one generation has grown up under conditions of independence on the continent. But it may be asserted today even that thinking in tribalist, localist categories is little-by-little receding into the background here. Not always and not everywhere has this been easy. The African giant--Nigeria--had to experience the bloody Biafra crisis in order to recognize the need for national unity and forswear the "ethnically explosive" constitution imposed by London. In Kenya the doomed nature of regionalism has been proven by the very logic of the country's development. Declaring: "My tribe is Kenya," Daniel arap Moi, former KADU leader and now president of the republic, is rectifying many mistakes of his predecessor, Jomo Kenyatta. Uganda, which was once reputed to be the pearl of Africa, was brought to the brink of catastrophe by the confrontation between the peoples of the north and the south spurred by the personal ambitions of leaders and intensified by the colonial inheritance and religious contradictions. Y. Museveni, the country's new president and head of the National Resistance Movement, reiterates in virtually every speech: "Our government will struggle resolutely against attempts to divide Ugandans along tribalist or religious lines. The National Resistance Movement's strength is precisely that it has succeeded in uniting within it the representatives of different nationalities and strata of the population."

In the vast majority of African states tribalism and its derivatives are now "vouchsafed" mentions on the newspaper front pages and become an active (and always negative) factor of domestic life only in cases where they are used by outside neocolonialist forces to destabilize regimes unsuitable to the West. The territorial disputes still darkening inter-African relations from time to time are reanimated for this purpose. Take if only last year's armed conflict between Burkina Faso and Mali over a sun-scorched plot of savannah, a conflict whose main result was the diversion of the two countries' already limited material resources from the solution of their urgent problems.

It may be said that the conflict in the Horn of Africa is a classic example of how imperialism is taking advantage of territorial claims and the "ethnic weapon" in order to knock the continent's states from the progressive development path. True, observers are now expressing cautious optimism apropos the possibilities of its settlement. The leaders of Ethiopia and Somalia--Mengistu Haile Mariam and Mohamed Siad Barre--met in mid-January 1986 under the Djibouti palms. They spent 4 hours at the negotiating table and then shook hands in front of the lenses of photographers and planted in the black Djibouti soil the cutting of a jojoba--a tree capable of enduring all the adversities of the desert and symbolizing in local superstition male friendship and fidelity to one's word. "If the resolve of Addis Ababa and Mogadishu to bury the past proves as tenacious as the jojoba, Africa will be able to breathe a sigh of relief," the Kenyan DAILY NATION wrote. "We would all like this most protracted and explosive conflict, which arose on ethnic grounds, to be the last such conflict. On the threshold of the third millennium Africans have too many pressing concerns to play about with the archaic legacy of past times."

In the past 20 years military spending on the continent has grown more than tenfold and is now approaching \$20 billion annually. This is roughly twice as much as is collected from Africa in the way of payment of interest on loans and their clearance. In other words, were African countries not to incur the burden of arms, they could have no debt at all and all the problems which it engenders, including the problem of starvation.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the "creation of crisis situations--sales of weapons--granting of loans for the purchase thereof--deferred payment on IMF terms--obtaining snowballing interest" mechanism developed by Washington is serving to impede the continent's development and prolong its dependence on the capitalist centers.

Western propagandists and even certain scholars have attempted to explain the food crisis which has hit Africa predominantly by the drought. Today, when the fields are turning green everywhere for the second year, but the situation is not improving quickly enough, many people on the continent are discovering for themselves the existence of the "arms--debt--hunger" chain of logic. It is no accident that at the very top of the list prepared by the IMF of countries of the continent experiencing the greatest economic difficulties are Tropical Africa's principal importers of weapons--Zaire, Somalia, Chad and Sudan. On the list compiled by the FAO of states which in 1986 are threatened by an acute food shortage Sudan is once again named as being among the first.

It is worth speaking in more detail about the situation in this country-- Africa's biggest in terms of territory. As the American CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR put it, the United States had prepared for the Sudan of the times of Nimeiry "the role of strong anchor of its strategic interests in the Near East and North Africa." All the advice and recommendations which Washington is even now foisting on Africans as a panacea were implemented there: the principles of "free enterprise" were sacredly observed and American companies and banks acquired the right to the unhindered export of their income. Nimeiry became the biggest recipient of U.S. aid in Tropical Africa, having allowed the IMF by way of compensation, so to speak, to control the country's economic policy, and the Pentagon to install a base for the interventionist RDF on the shores of the Red Sea.

Symptoms of 'Neoglobalism'

The Cairo newspaper AKHBAL AL-YAWM, which is known to the whole Arab world for its rightwing, pro-American views, criticized Washington for its policy of state terrorism in respect of Libya. This seemingly exceptional fact graphically reflected the isolation in which the Reagan administration has found itself in the Arab East and in Africa. But the escalation of the recklessness continues. On the direct instructions of the U.S. President American aircraft barbarically bombed the Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi. State terrorism has resulted in bandit actions against the peaceful population of an African country, among which there were casualties. The United States' unlawful actions gave rise to anger and indignation worldwide.

One further dangerous center of tension has been created in Libya's "southern underbelly"--in Chad. Analyzing the reasons which prompted Paris for the second time in the past 3 years to engage in military intervention in this country, it has to be concluded that France sent troops to the Sahel sands by no means only to give a reminder of its role of gendarme in the service of imperialist interests in West and Central Africa. Its action was manifestly to the benefit of the White House at the time when the U.S. 6th Fleet was conducting provocative maneuvers off Libya's northern shores.

This is particularly obvious if we recall the anti-American sentiments already known to us which had been aroused in Sudan and Nigeria. The indications of democratization in Khartoum and its steps toward a normalization of relations with Tripoli and Addis Ababa caused in the U.S. Administration, as the Egyptian AL-AKHALI wrote, nightmares that a united belt of states friendly toward one another and by no means to its liking could emerge. Lagos, as the NIGERIAN VOICE put it, "infuriated" it by the present government's resolve "to have done with those who would like to recolonize Nigeria."

But now let us try looking at the map of Africa through the eyes of Washington geopoliticians. Is not Chad, which is at the very heart of North Africa and which borders Libya, Sudan and Nigeria, the "ideal springboard" whence pressure could be put on all three and trouble stirred up in other countries of this vast region at the same time?

The experience of France's direct intervention in Chad in 1983 showed that the biggest winner from this adventure was not Paris but Washington, which has occupied strategic positions in a zone which has traditionally been considered in the West a "French preserve". The Pentagon has begun the construction of a military base in the south of the country. Hundreds of American instructors have turned up in Ndjamena and a number of other cities, who are not only training H. Habre's army in punitive operations against the Transitional National Unity Government forces but also taking part in combat operations directly. Supplies of American weapons used by the Ndjamena regime for fighting the patriots are growing from year to year.

Like everywhere in Africa, this "assistance" is not all that successful. Chadians call the army of the pro-West regime "local occupiers," and centers of resistance are flaring up throughout the country. The methods with which Habre is suppressing the opposition by no means tie in with elementary notions of human rights. But "despite Habre's bad reputation," NEWSWEEK admits, "sources linked to the Washington administration have confirmed that the CIA is helping him." The American journalist J. Campbell, who gained access to secret documents of the U.S. Congress' House Committee on Intelligence, characterizes Habre simply as the "CIA's man," who is in power thanks to \$10 million of support on the part of this espionage department.

In this context February's Operation Hawk would seem to be no more than a neocolonialist action carried out under pressure from Washington, which had undertaken to speed up urgent military assistance to Ndjamena in a sum total of \$6 million in addition to the French military program. "It is a question of the clear coordination of the aggressive actions of Washington and Paris," the Moroccan AL BAYANE observed. "The American military is threatening Libya from the north, the French invasion forces from the south."

The support given this intervention by Washington is part of the so-called "neoglobalism doctrine," which has been professed for some time in the White House and which envisages, together with the United States' direct interference in the developing countries' internal affairs, "low-intensity" military operations against them at the hands of allies or "anticommunist freedom fighters".

Need there be any surprise, then, that J. Savimbi, leader of the anti-Angolan terrorists, was received in a Washington with such honors and that, despite congressional opposition, the U.S. Administration promised UNITA assistance which, it is estimated, will amount to \$300 million? According to the program minimum drawn up by Savimbi's CIA bosses, UNITA is in the very near future to strike at targets of vital importance for Angola producing a large part of its currency receipts. There is absolutely no thought given here even to the fact that the American companies producing and prospecting for oil in the country in accordance with an arrangement with its government might also suffer from the sabotage. Washington nurtures the dream of the future legalization of the terrorists as some "legitimate political force" in Angola and ultimately of ousting its present regime, which is not to the United States' liking. In calling Savimbi "Africa's hope" President Reagan had in mind precisely such a development of events.

In consenting to support UNITA the U.S. Administration is entering into a direct military alliance with South Africa and again brazenly demonstrating the unity of Washington's and Pretoria's strategic goals. These steps need to be somehow justified in the eyes of the world community--and U.S. propaganda is increasingly importunately foisting on it the impression of imaginary liberalization in South Africa. However, the image of P. Botha the "reformer" blurs when, grasping the skillfully concealed essence of his speeches, any sober-minded person concludes that the racist president is simply fighting for the survival of the apartheid system, and this is the permanent program of his government.

Contrary to Washington's promises, positive initiatives from Pretoria are not to be expected. The incursions of South African forces into Angola, continuation of the generous assistance to the RENAMO bandits--in breach of the noisily publicized Nkomati Agreement between South Africa and Mozambique 2 years ago--armed provocations against Botswana, attempts to strangle Lesotho economically, threats against Zimbabwe and subversive activity against it--this is incontrovertible proof that not only in the domestic policy but also foreign plane apartheid is a true "generator of evil".

With Faith in the Future

"Will Africans not lose their characteristic optimism and will the smile not disappear from their faces forever when both from the skies (the drought) and from across the seas (terrorism and debt) continuous troubles are being showered on them?" a regular reader of the Tanzanian DAILY NEWS asks.

If Africa is seen through the eyes of Western propaganda, the future of the vast majority of states of the continent appears gloomy. Bourgeois political scientists are intimidating the African masses with the new adversities, and the governments with "the growth of social instability" and the "ferment of the lower orders". The most experienced wish to take away from the inhabitants of the Dark Continent even that which down the ages has helped them survive. "Under the influence of economic and internal political disorders traditional society in Africa is disintegrating," the well-known French Africa specialist Jean-Claude Pomonti asserts in LE MONDE. "Everywhere on the continent a process of deculturization is under way, the bases of life are collapsing and the foundations of society are under threat."

All this is being spoken and written with the sole purpose of driving the Africans not only into an economic but also a kind of psychological blind alley, robbing them of confidence in their own powers and leaving them just one way out--"treatment" according to Western prescriptions.

"The capitalist countries wish to make us their spongers," Thomas Sankara, president of Burkina Faso, declared. "They regard Africans as poor people whom they can favor with a bowl of soup. Such handouts are accustoming people to a semi-starvation existence, giving rise to unemployment and parasitical nouveaux riches, and making us increasingly dependent. The purpose of any aid is to afford an opportunity of living without aid. This is the behavior of the socialist countries, helping us develop production locally."

Under current conditions, when socialism is exerting a determining influence on the course of history, the multiplication and stimulation of African states' relations with the USSR and the socialist community as a whole are having a salutary impact on the process of the formation of a new life therein and contributing to their choice of a progressive path of social development--a socialist orientation. Such is Africa's natural reaction to the incapacity of capitalism for solving its most acute socioeconomic problems.

Inter-African cooperation and regional mutual assistance, given reliance on one's own resources, are expanding. The participants in a consultative meeting of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in Harare--the representatives of Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland and Tanzania--concluded that their countries could handle their difficulties themselves granted an end to the armed provocations of South Africa and the West's "economic aggression". Thus Angola could not only feed itself but would also have food surpluses for its neighbors. Zimbabwe is capable of becoming a principal supplier of a number of industrial commodities for states of the region, but this is being prevented by the Western monopolies. If a small part of the resources which are spent currently by the "front-line" states on defense were spent on the construction of power lines, Mozambique would be in a position to provide the SADCC countries with electric power. "Creditors and aggressors! Leave us in peace, and we will surge ahead without the notorious Western 'aid'," the Zimbabwean HERALD wrote.

A further two important meetings devoted to regional cooperation were held almost simultaneously at opposite ends of Africa. The constituent assembly of the East African Intergovernmental Organization Against Drought and for Development (IGADD) was held in Djibouti. The leaders of Ethiopia, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Somalia and Djibouti discussed ways of interaction to accelerate economic development on the basis of the mobilization and efficient utilization of the very rich human and natural resources of their subregion. The assembly adopted a plan of action aimed ultimately at the achievement of the IGADD countries' self-sufficiency in food and energy resources.

In Dakar the eight members of the Permanent International Committee Against Drought in the Sahel (Burkina Faso, the Gambia, Cape Verde, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Chad) and also Guinea-Bissau approved a joint strategy of struggle to restore the disturbed ecological balance and boost agriculture. The realization of 370 development projects in the sphere of farming, animal husbandry and fishing was outlined. "Economic disorders and drought recognize no state boundaries in Africa, and for this reason a collective rebuff must be counterposed to their incessant onslaught"--such was the leitmotiv of the forums in Harare, Djibouti and Dakar.

The First Special Congress of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, which was an important event for the whole continent, ended on an optimistic note in February 1986 in Accra. It is gratifying, the GHANAIAN TIMES wrote, that despite the tremendous difficulties being experienced by Africa the delegates of a number of countries also spoke of changes for the better in the life of the working people. In Ethiopia, for example, an 8-hour work day was introduced following the people's revolution and the working people have won the right to leave and to retirement pensions. There has been a wage

increase as of January 1983 in Algeria for 2.5 million workers and employees, that is, almost 80 percent of wage workers. In Mozambique and Angola worker committees have become the genuine proprietors of the plants and factories abandoned by the former colonialists. A policy of expanding the working people's participation in enterprise management is being pursued in Zimbabwe.

Where Africans cannot be actively prevented by neocolonialist forces and everywhere that regimes which are thinking about the public good are in power, Africa, relying on its own healthy traditions, is emerging the winner from the encounter with those who are standing in the way of its progressive development. Although this path is thorny, Africa is not a continent of despair.

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BURMA'S ECONOMIC, POLITICAL PROBLEMS, SUCCESSES DESCRIBED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 86 pp 35-37

[Article by V. Viktorov: "Fidelity to the Chosen Course"]

[Text] According to the lunar calendar which has been adopted here and which operates alongside the Gregorian calendar, in April Burma embarked on year 1348. The new fiscal year began last month also. So the country is now summing up the most important events in various spheres of public-political and economic life.

One such event of the past year was the fifth congress of the ruling Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP), which analyzed the economic and domestic political situation in the country and its international position, summed up the results of fulfillment of the Fourth Four-Year Plan and confirmed the directives of the Fifth Four-Year Plan. The congress elected the party's new executive bodies. U Ne Win, unchanged leader of the party since the day it was founded, is once again BSPP chairman.

In accordance with the policy directions adopted at the congress, a wide-ranging campaign for the preparation for elections to the Burmese National Assembly and the local people's councils was initiated. General elections were held from 6 through 20 October 1985. Over 19 million persons, who voted for the candidates nominated by the BSPP, took part.

Some 489 National Assembly deputies and more than 190,000 members of people's councils of administrative and national divisions, districts, rural tracts and urban wards were elected. The Fourth National Assembly First Session, which formed the highest organs of state power, was held at the start of November. U San Yu, who has held the country's presidency since 1981, was reelected to this office.

With what results did Burma approach the party congress and what are seen as the immediate prospects of its socioeconomic development?

The BSPP forum confirmed fidelity to the course proclaimed in the "Burmese Way to Socialism" Program 24 years ago, when the top officer body--the Revolutionary Council headed by Gen Ne Win--assumed power in the country. This program set the task of the creation of a society free of man's exploitation of man, ensuring prosperity for its citizens on the basis of a socialist system of management and abiding by the principles of socialist democracy. The program emphasizes that the vanguard role in society is assigned the workers and peasants.

A number of progressive socioeconomic transformations, including nationalization of the property of major foreign and local businessmen, the liquidation of manorial landowning and the implementation of agrarian reform and other important measures in the interests of the working people, was carried out in the country in the 1960's. In this period an active process of the formation of the new ruling BSPP and also worker, peasant and youth organizations created under its leadership was under way. Ten years later, at the first BSPP Congress in 1971, it was constituted as a mass party numbering several tens of thousands of members and representing various strata of the country's population.

In 1973, at the second party congress, a 20-year plan of socioeconomic development broken down into five 4-year plans was adopted. The creation of the economic, social and political foundations of socialism is connected with its realization. It is proposed accomplishing this task by way of a doubling of per capita income by the 1993-1994 fiscal year and Burma's conversion into an industrial-agrarian country and also the introduction of socialist production relations. The plan also envisages that by the mid-1990's the state sector's share of the value of the gross domestic product will constitute 48 percent, the cooperative sector 26 percent and the private sector 26 percent. Supervision of the fulfillment of this quite bold socioeconomic program was entrusted to the National Assembly elected on 2 March 1974 in accordance with the new constitution. Henceforward the country would be called the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma. The new constitution legally enshrined Burma's socialist orientation and the leading role of the BSPP in the life of Burmese society.

The next 10 years were difficult. The subversive activity of separatist and other insurgent groupings continued, serious disruptions prevented fulfillment of the plans of the first two 4-year plans and the populace's discontent brought about primarily by economic difficulties was observed. But these difficult times are in the past. Burmese leaders consider the Fourth Four-Year Plan together with the Fifth the pivotal stage en route to the implementation of the 20-year plan: the targets pertaining to the volume of the gross domestic product, the mining of minerals, the production of agricultural products and electric power, the volume of construction operations and the development of the system of communications were exceeded. It should be emphasized particularly that record rice harvests in the postwar period--approximately 14-15 million tons--have been collected in Burma in recent years. This is explained by the fact that methods of the "Green Revolution" are being employed in the country's fields: high-yield rice varieties are being introduced and mineral fertilizer and pesticides are being used. In addition, the area of cultivable land has been increased by a factor of 1.5, including a doubling of the area of irrigable land.

Significant results have been achieved in the development of mining industry and oil production. New production processes have arisen: natural gas, steel and copper. The number of manufacturing industry enterprises has almost doubled. The manufacture of motorcycles, water pumps and tractors has been set up. Electric power generation increased sixfold in this period.

Considerable changes have occurred in the sphere of education and health care. They have been brought about by the sharp increase in annual spending on the construction of schools, secondary specialized and higher educational institutions and hospitals. As a result the proportion of literate persons has risen from 57 percent to 81 percent, which is far higher than in certain developed capitalist countries. There has been a sixfold increase in the numbers of medical personnel. Average life expectancy in Burma rose in the period from 1964 through 1983 from 45 years to 61 years for men and from 48 to 65 years for women.

These undoubted achievements have enhanced the authority of the BSPP. The strength of its ranks grew from 334,200 members and candidates in 1971 to 2.3 million in 1985, given a population of 37 million.

At the same time, as follows from the material of the congress, there are still a number of "bottlenecks" in the Burmese economy. Thus the share of the state and cooperative sectors in the GNP has not reached the level outlined by the target. As yet the agricultural cooperatives are performing a very negligible role in production, and in terms of quantitative indicators the private sector is still predominant. While having done away with large-scale enterprise, the BSPP by no means deprives this sector of the right to participate in the country's socioeconomic development. However, its attempts to prompt the small and mid-sized entrepreneurs to invest in the productive sectors of the economy have not as yet produced significant results: the Burmese private businessman prefers to trade or engage in black market transactions.

Some businessmen and tradesmen are by various methods, as the Burmese press has observed, evading the payment of taxes. "'Black business' operators," the newspaper LOKETHA PYITHU NEIZIN wrote last November, "are using their resources to create obstacles in the way of the building of a socialist economy." Meanwhile a significant proportion of the money in circulation is concentrated precisely in their hands. The situation is being made worse even by the fact that in recent years the money supply has been outpacing in terms of growth rate the gross domestic product. This, as the Fifth BSPP Congress observed, is leading to increased inflation and higher prices.

The Burmese leadership resolved to "let the bad blood" from the indisposed financial organism. An order was issued last November concerning the removal from circulation of 20-, 50- and 100-kyat bills. Banknotes not surrendered to the bank were liable to confiscation. A sum of up to 5,000 was, in accordance with the law, reimbursed immediately and in full. Money over and above this amount it was proposed exchanging only by half. However, subsequently the law has stiffened: the deadline for the surrender of the notes

which had been withdrawn from circulation was abridged, and only 25 percent of the amount could be exchanged. Measures of punishment for persons surrendering another's money were increased also.

Evaluating the effectiveness of these measures will take time. But there is no doubt that they represented an important means of mobilizing internal resources for fulfillment of the plan quotas of the final year of the Fourth Four-Year Plan.

Speaking of "bottlenecks" of the Burmese economy, the objective factors impeding realization of the program cannot be forgotten. They include disproportions in the development of various sectors of the economy as a consequence of the colonial past. Thus the single-crop nature of the agrarian sector is preserved still, and the infrastructure and fuel-energy base are inadequately developed. In addition, Burma's foreign economic relations are currently confined mainly to the world capitalist economy. And the downward trend of the price of the raw material commodities which constitute Burmese exports has, as is known, been quite stable there recently. For example, the price of Burma's main export commodity--rice--on the world market had by the start of 1985 fallen from \$322 to \$183 per ton, of rubber from \$875 to \$640 and tungsten concentrate from \$7,248 to \$4,070. This led to the plan for currency proceeds from exports, despite the increase in their physical volume in the 1984-1985 fiscal year, being underfulfilled to the extent of \$650 million.

Simultaneously the prices of commodities which Burma imports are growing. According to data of the BSPP organ--the journal (PATIYEYIA)--in the period from 1973-1974 through 1982-1983 they grew by a factor of 2.3. A trade deficit of the order of 1.88 billion kyat is planned for the 1985-1986 year. This is understandable--the country cannot cope without importing raw material, machinery and equipment and a number of consumer goods. The level of world prices of Burma's traditional export commodities, however, does not inspire hope that it will be possible with the help thereof to compensate for the expenditure on imports. And although calls were heard from the congress' platform for a lengthening of the list of Burma's exports (shrimp and fish), it is contemplated covering the present trade deficit with the help of foreign credit and loans. This means a growth of the foreign debt, which even now constitutes more than \$2 billion.

Although Burma's foreign debt is comparatively small in absolute terms (many countries comparable in terms of territory and population with Burma have a foreign debt 10 times and more in excess of the above mentioned figure), its burden is very palpable. The point being that the extent of this burden is determined by the norm of servicing or payment of the debt--the relationship of expenditure on the payment of loans to the value of exports. Whereas at the start of the 1980's this norm constituted for Burma approximately 10 percent, now, according to certain estimates, it is in excess of 40 percent.

The directives of the Fifth Four-Year Plan provide for steps for establishing mutually profitable cooperation "not detrimental to the socialist economy" with foreign countries and international economic organizations. They are geared to situations where the state cannot allow itself the significant capital investments necessary for the maximally efficient exploitation of natural resources or when modern technology and equipment are required.

The economic problems would be solved more easily were the country not faced with the task of restoring peace within society. The Burmese press periodically publishes communiques on the combat operations being conducted by government forces against various separatist groupings. The scale of the domestic conflict, which began in 1948, when the country won political independence, has become far less than, say, 10 years ago. Nonetheless, it was reported in a recent summary that losses on both sides amounted to several hundred men.

Among the questions discussed at the Fifth BSPP Congress great attention was paid to Burma's relationship with neighboring countries. From neutralist standpoints Burma actively supports on the world scene a recuperation of the international atmosphere. In his speech at the UN General Assembly 40th Session the head of the Burmese delegation emphasized that there is now no more important task than preventing the militarization of space. The newspaper BOTATAUNG, official organ of the BSPP, wrote about the importance of the Soviet peace initiatives. It, in particular, observed that all peaceable forces welcome the consistent policy of the USSR advocating the removal of centers of tension and the strengthening of trust between all states.

Burma supports many of the constructive proposals of the peace-loving forces aimed at a halt to the arms race, an easing of tension and the peaceful solution of conflict situations. Burmese representatives actively speak in support of the people of Namibia fighting for their independence and the granting of freedom to other colonial countries and peoples. Burma is among the developing countries which advocate a reorganization of present-day international economic relations on a just, democratic basis. These efforts meet with the support of the USSR and other socialist states.

Greetings from the CPSU Central Committee were read out at the BSPP congress. They expressed the hope of a further expansion and strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the BSPP and between the Soviet Union and Burma in the coming years based on the community of interests in the struggle against imperialism and its aggressive policy, for the preservation of peace and for the right of peoples to independent development and social progress.

Burma has experience, and very positive experience at that, of trade-economic cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries. The "Inle Lake" Hotel, the best in Rangoon, the Rangoon Technology Institute and the "Russian Hospital" in Taung-gyi are symbols of this cooperation. The Soviet Union has shown itself to be not only a reliable partner but also true friend of Burma. It has assisted in the creation of facilities which have made a substantial contribution to ensuring the country's economic independence and the training of skilled specialists and come to its assistance at a time of difficulty.

Burma has embarked on the new year of 1348 relying on what has been achieved, overcoming difficulties and looking to the future with optimism.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

U.S.-PHILIPPINE RELATIONS, QUESTION OF MILITARY BASES VIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 86 pp 38-39

[Article by Yu. Sagaydak: "The Basis Remain As Yet..."]

[Text] Screaming with strain, aircraft of the U.S. Air Force take off from the Clark Field Air Base. They break the sound barrier over the Angeles camp and the Subic Bay Naval Base, shoot steeply upward and dissolve in the blue of the tropical skies.

It was in Angeles on 19 February 1986, following the announcement by the Philippine parliament--the National Assembly--of the results of the presidential elections, that the leader of the opposition, Corazon Aquino, to the accompaniment of the roar of jet engines, declared at a meeting of 30,000 of her supporters that the struggle against Ferdinand Marcos, who had been named the winner, would continue and called for a campaign of civil disobedience of the government. And weeks later it was from a runway of Clark Field that an American C-9 military transport aircraft carrying F. Marcos, who had resigned his authority and was leaving the Philippines, took off.

Last fall F. Marcos announced early elections for head of state. Nothing, seemingly, portended trouble for the 68-year-old president, who had been in power for 2 decades and who wished to extend his mandate for a further 6 years. The ruling coalition--the New Society Movement--possessing a powerful political infrastructure locally--presented to the opposition organized forces at whose disposal were the regime-controlled mass media, the state finances and the army. The country's capital--Manila--was decked in red, white and blue colors of the national flag signifying loyalty to the existing regime.

Nor did F. Marcos' opponents fail to influence the feelings of Filipinos. Yellow posters shrieked from walls, yellow ribbons fluttered on automobile antennas and yellow T-shirts, badges and flags appeared on the stands of the street traders. This color symbolized the people's grief over Senator Benigno Aquino, who had been shot to death in 1983, having just arrived at Manila

Airport from the United States following several years of exile. The circumstances surrounding the death of this most prominent opposition figure have not yet been fully investigated. His 53-year-old widow, whom the foreign press describes as a "quiet-spoken calm woman with no previous experience of political struggle," succeeded in rallying around her relatively heterogeneous strata of persons unhappy at the state of affairs in the country--the crisis of the national economy, the domination of foreign, primarily American, monopolies, the presence on Philippine territory of Pentagon bases and corruption in the machinery of state.

The persistent rumors that the administration, whose prestige had been pretty much undermined as it was, had been involved in her husband's assassination contributed to the strengthening of these sentiments and the growth of C. Aquino's popularity.

In expectation of a sensation more than 1,000 foreign correspondents descended on the Philippines prior to the elections. However on 7 February, polling day, they were properly disappointed--no in any way serious incidents occurred. Two organizations: the government's National Election Commission and the opposition's Citizens Movement for Free Elections--undertook a preliminary count of the ballots. Each immediately showed a preference for its favorite. The final results, however, in accordance with the constitution, were reckoned up by the National Assembly, which on 15 February proclaimed F. Marcos president.

The political struggle on the Philippines was attentively followed in Washington--and not simply followed. An official American "observer" delegation which had been dispatched to Manila high-handedly interfered in the internal affairs of a sovereign states. Detachments of marines from the RDF and a group of Green Berets--specialists in punitive operations against the civilian population--were transferred there from Okinawa in case of an "emergency". Servicemen at the American bases were in a state of increased combat readiness.

Such, to put it mildly, U.S. concern for Philippine affairs was no accident: approximately 20 Pentagon facilities, including two of the biggest bases outside of the United States--the above-mentioned Clark Field and Subic Bay--are located on the country's territory. As UPI acknowledged, "from the strategic viewpoint the Philippines serve as an American bastion in the Western Pacific and the gateway to the Indian Ocean, where American carrier groups are on continuous patrol. "President R. Reagan candidly declared at his press conference on 11 February: "I know of no bases more important than those in the Philippines." This and also considerable financial-economic interests determine U.S. policy in respect of the Philippines.

We would recall that in 1898, following the Spanish-American war, the former metropolis sold this archipelago, named in the past in honor of King Philip II (approximately 7,100 islands with a total area of 300,000 square kilometers), Asia's sole Catholic country, to the United States for \$20 million. In 1946 the Philippines gained independence, but by no means rid itself of very strong

American influence. Approximately 500 U.S. companies operate here, and private investments alone from across the ocean amount to \$2.5 billion. Dependence on American capital has led the Philippine economy into a blind alley. The country's foreign debt, according to press data, amounts to \$26 billion, which puts it among the world's leading borrowers. Social ailments have been intensified: 40 percent of able-bodied Filipinos cannot find work, and two-thirds have a living standard below the official poverty line. The problems together with the question of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines were at the center of the preelection political struggle.

Washington adopted an understanding attitude toward F. Marcos' signals that his administration intended continuing to strengthen relations with the United States for the purpose of maintaining the American military presence. When the results of the voting were being tallied, the White House essentially made it understood that it did not intend impeding F. Marcos' reelection, given the observance of "democratic principles". However, as the confrontation of the F. Marcos and C. Aquino groupings intensified, the United States began to display increasingly great concern for this process was being accompanied by a rapid growth of anti-American sentiments, which were also assuming an anti-Marcos nature. Fearing that the discontent of the "masses" could get out of control, Washington swiftly reoriented itself toward the "backup option".

According to L'HUMANITE, back in October 1985 American intelligence services had drawn up a plan for the ouster of F. Marcos. Arriving in Manila on 14 February, Philip Habib, the U.S. President's special representative, who had allegedly been entrusted with a "reconciliation mission," met with the leaders of the then Philippine regime, opposition leaders and also J.P. Enrile, minister of national defense. The newspapers called attention to the fact that literally a few hours after the departure of the American "peacemaker" from the Philippines a rebellion headed by J.P. Enrile and F. Ramos, deputy chief of the General Staff, erupted in the country's armed forces.

Simultaneously the American press and television began a turbulent anti-Marcos campaign. Members of the U.S. Administration began to speak over and over about the "vote-rigging and cheating" in the course of the presidential elections in the Philippines. Congress began to talk about cutting off aid to this country--"aid" which, strictly speaking, is nothing other than rent for Philippine soil leased to the American bases. The final chord in this clamorous orchestra was a White House statement. Its spokesman, L. Speakes, brusquely demanded F. Marcos' immediate resignation. "A solution of the crisis in the Philippines is possible only by way of the peaceful handover of power to a new government," he said.

Subsequently Washington naturally attempted to consign to oblivion its involvement in the events in the Philippines. But, as the American NBC pointed out in a commentary, "the White House played a key part in the fall of the Marcos regime." London's FINANCIAL TIMES observed that the U.S. Administration "has emerged successfully from the difficult position" in which it had been put by the Philippine elections.

Deprived of the support of the army and the United States, F. Marcos was forced to cease resistance. In the evening of 25 February he left the besieged

presidential palace, and a U.S. Air Force helicopter took him to Clark Field Air Base, and the following morning he and his family and closest supporters left for Guam.

Following the assumption of office of C. Aquino, who on 25 February was sworn in as the country's president, the situation in Manila and other cities gradually returned to normal. The barricades and huge hanks of barbed wire disappeared from the streets, the stores and booths opened and transport traffic resumed.

On 27 February the president of the Philippines delivered her first foreign policy statement. Having raised the main question in relations with the United States of the American bases, she said that she would observe the current treaty. However, following its expiry in 1991, C. Aquino warned, she would reserve for herself complete freedom of choice.

This statement did not go unnoticed in Washington. P. Habib traveled to Manila once again, and American legislators, as if at the summons of a conductor's baton, began debate on the amount of "aid" to the Philippines. R. Lugar, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, made it unequivocally understood that the United States needed to look into C. Aquino's policy and only then decide the question of the amount of aid. How can we not recall here R. Lugar's similar "hints" addressed in mid-February to the former government of F. Marcos.

In brandishing the financial club, dispatching its emissaries--arm-twisting specialists--to Manila and demonstrating its military power (it is not inappropriate to observe that the election campaign, the poll and subsequent events in the Philippines unfolded in the sights of the guns of the "Blue Ridge," the flagship of the U.S. 7th Fleet, which had pulled up to the shores of the archipelago together with the "Enterprise" assault aircraft carrier) the United States wishes to obtain guarantees of the preservation and strengthening of its military-strategic positions in the "land of 7,000 islands". How the Philippine Government responds to Washington's diktat the very near future will show.

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BOOK REVIEW: SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE DEPUTY ON ANTI-IMPERIALISM

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 86 pp 62

[D. Kasatkin review: "For the Unity of Anti-Imperialist Forces"]

[Text] A.S. Dzasokhov's monograph,* which was written on the basis of the extensive enlistment of Soviet and foreign material, is devoted to problems of the development of the unity and interaction of the world anti-imperialist, democratic and revolutionary-liberation forces. A significant place in its source-study base is occupied by data of the periodical press of Afro-Asian countries reflecting their day-to-day life and also the works of prominent figures of the liberation movement.

Through the prism of Marxist-Leninist analysis A.S. Dzasokhov views in a historical plane the sociopolitical foundations of the cohesion and joint actions of the fighters against imperialism and topical problems of the contemporary revolutionary process in the Afro-Asian world, ascertains therein the place of different classes, social strata and groups and emphasizes the leading role in the anti-imperialist struggle of the supporters of scientific socialism and revolutionary-democratic currents.

The work investigates in depth problems of the international democratic movement. The attention which the 27th CPSU Congress paid to the role of mass democratic movements in present-day life attests the topicality of the said subject matter. These movements, as the new version of the CPSU Program confirmed by the congress emphasizes, are a principal driving force of social development.

Studying questions of anti-imperialist solidarity, the author observes that its sources are linked with the victory of the October Revolution in Russia.

The book traces the process of the formation of the political strategy of the anti-imperialist, progressive-democratic forces, in the national liberation movement and in the struggle for complete decolonization and against the expansion of neocolonialism and the imperialist policy of the enlistment of the

* A.S. Dzasokhov, "Yedinstvo i vzaimodeystviye antiimperialisticheskikh natsionalno-osvoboditelnykh sil (opyt, problemy, perspektivy)" [Unity and Interaction of the Anti-Imperialist National Liberation Forces (Experience, Problems, Prospects)], Exec. ed. G.F. Kim, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka", 1986, p 252.

emergent countries in the ruinous arms race included. A.S. Dzasokhov examines in detail the diverse forms of international solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Indochina, the Arab countries and southern Africa against imperialism, aggression and apartheid.

The monograph pays great attention to the anti-imperialist forces' unity of action in the struggle against the threat of a new world war, the prevention of which is the cause of all peoples. The work shows the growing role of public movements, including the Asian and African Peoples Solidarity Organization, in the antiwar movement.

A considerable place is assigned the revelation in the work of the tremendous moral-political influence of the experience of the socialist community countries on the process of the consolidation of democratic, progressive forces in Afro-Asian countries and the growing material assistance of the socialist countries to the national liberation movement. The author shows that the significance of the anti-imperialist alliance of the states of real socialism and the forces of the national liberation movement is growing constantly as the antagonistic contradictions between the two world social systems intensify (pp 11-12).

Analyzing the singularities of the imperialist powers' neocolonialist policy in the Afro-Asian world, the author exposes the current bourgeois-reformist, rightwing-nationalist and other concepts of "supraclass," "religious-communal," "racial" and other "solidarity," which could allegedly substitute for the international unity and interaction of the democratic, national liberation forces.

The cogent explanation of the fallacy and groundlessness of the concept of the division of the world into "rich" and "poor" countries serves the interests of the anti-imperialist, anti-neocolonialist struggle of the peoples. This concept, as the author correctly writes, creates a serious barrier to the Afro-Asian countries winning true independence and to successful cooperation between them and the socialist states (pp 172-173). Equally, he points to the great damage to the cause of the progress of the Afro-Asian peoples being done by the "reliance solely on one's own powers" concept. The supporters of this concept, the monograph emphasizes, are pushing the Asian and African peoples into geographical seclusion, racial exclusiveness and isolation from their true friends--the socialist countries (pp 174-185).

No less damage to the cause of the development of the Afro-Asian countries is being caused by the so-called "economic pragmatism" theory, which erroneously views problems of economic decolonization in isolation from the struggle against imperialism on the political front (p 193). In revealing the groundlessness of bourgeois and reformist concepts of social development the scholar has endeavored to comprehensively substantiate the historical inevitability of new victories of the forces of peace, the triumph of national liberty and social progress on Afro-Asian soil and the normality of a further consolidation of all detachments of the world anti-imperialist, revolutionary-liberation movement.

The author of the monograph, who has for many years been linked by the nature of his work with the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, pays considerable attention to questions of potential reserves of the anti-imperialist, national liberation movement in the sociopolitical, economic, cultural-ideological and international-legal spheres. The recommendations which he offers serve the interests of a strengthening of Afro-Asian solidarity and the emergent countries' development along the path of progress. At the same time, while depicting the diversity of the dynamics of the revolutionary process, A.S. Dzasokov's monograph cannot fail to arouse the desire for a more in-depth study of, inter alia, such questions as the bourgeois and reformist concepts of the emergent countries' social development.

A.S. Dzasokhov's work, which contains a great deal of factological material, supplements Soviet social scientists' literature on problems of the revolutionary process in the Afro-Asian world, highlighting particularly such an aspect thereof as the unity and interaction of the anti-imperialist national liberation forces.

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'HISTORY OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES' SERIES ISSUES BOOK ON KENYA

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 5, May 86 p 64

[Review by V. Gorodnov, doctor of historical sciences: "History of Kenya"]

[Text] This is the fourth book* in the "History of African Countries" series. The first three, devoted to Nigeria, Zaire and Uganda, were published in 1981-1984. The purpose of the series is to illustrate the main stages of the socioeconomic and political history and also the history of the culture of African countries in recent and most recent times.

As distinct from the preceding books of this series, the work has been written by a single author. This, of course, made more difficult a multi-aspectual analysis of the evolution of societies on the territory of present-day Kenya--after all, the series implies the illustration of not only purely historical but also social anthropological, sociological, economic and so forth questions. As a whole, the author has coped successfully with this difficult task.

I. Filatova's work is subordinated to a uniform idea and to a large extent devoted to a single topic. This topic is the social transformation of African societies.

The author has succeeded in making her contribution to the study of certain problems currently being investigated by African scholars. The book paints an integral picture of the settlement of the country's territory by the ancestors of the present-day peoples. The section of the work which attempts to trace the dynamics of the formation of a uniform economic organism on the territory of Kenya prior to the penetration of Europeans is important.

The analysis of the period of the establishment of colonial domination and the first decades of colonialism, which has been left virtually unillustrated by Soviet African scholars, is of great interest. The author exposes here the myths concerning the "virtually peaceful" subordination of the country to the British colonizers and also the "humane" motives of their struggle against the slave trade created by bourgeois historiography and still influencing the minds of Kenyans. The specifics of British colonial policy in Kenya, which became a "white man's country"--one of the few settler colonies in Africa--are shown also.

* I. Filatova, "Istoriya Kenii v novoye i noveysheye vremya" [Recent and Most Recent History of Kenya], Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka", 1985, p 380.

I. Filatova has endeavored to highlight specific features in Kenya's history when examining all the problems raised. However, the endeavor to find the particular in Kenya's history has not led the author to a description merely of the uniqueness of this country. The significance of some of the problems raised by I. Filatova goes beyond the framework of a single state. The analysis of the reasons for the appearance of the "white man's country," the specifics of colonial policy therein, the singularities of the anticolonial movement determining these specifics and, what is most important, the social consequences of "settler colonialism" is important for an elucidation of certain aspects of the events occurring currently in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The section devoted to the social formation of the peoples of the interior regions of Kenya in the precolonial era is not very successful. The information concerning the culture of the Kenyan peoples could have been more detailed. Kenya's foreign policy also merits greater attention.

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WESTERN EUROPE

EUROPEAN NATO STATES SAID TO ACT AS U.S. 'VASSALS'

PM311219 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Jul 86 Second Edition p 3

[Colonel V. Yeshchenko article: "'Washington's Poodle' -- This Is the Role the United States Allocates to Its European NATO Allies"]

[Text] "It hurts, but it is also gratifying that through his stupidity toward Libya Reagan has shaken the foundations of the Western alliance, whose recommendations he scorned. There is no point in continuing to pretend that those famous 'joint values' to which they constantly refer in solemn speeches when they call for cohesion in the North Atlantic alliance, actually exist. It was not just totally innocent people who died beneath the American bombs and missiles in Tripoli and Benghazi, it was also loyalty to NATO that died."

R. Winter, chief editor of the West German magazine DER STERN, whose words these are, was probably exaggerating somewhat about loyalty. But he was undoubtedly right about the fact that West Europeans are becoming increasingly alarmed at their transatlantic ally's adventurist actions in the international arena. This alarm increased particularly when it became known from the words of American General B. Rogers, supreme commander in chief, NATO Allied Forces, Europe, himself, that certain of the bloc's military organs had planned and directed the aggression against Libya. The West German newspaper UNSERE ZEIT wrote that during that period the fate of West Europe hung by a thread, as it were. It drew that conclusion from the fact that at the time of the barbarous bombing and even for some time afterward American units stationed on FRG territory and the Pershing II nuclear missiles at their disposal were put on full combat alert.

The "NATO" of piratical U.S. punitive actions against sovereign peoples (yesterday it was Lebanon, today Libya, and tomorrow, perhaps, Nicaragua or Iran) most acutely confronts West Europeans with a question on which they have previously pondered little -- what and whom does NATO serve? If we are to believe what the bloc's bosses and, in particular, its transatlantic leaders maintain with cheap bathos, it serves "peace and security." But if we compare their cloyingly pompous words with their real deeds, with the blood stains from victims of "retribution" left in various parts of the planet in recent years, then it becomes clear that NATO is merely a "puppet" controlled from the wings in a Washington "political farce."

Not that this is a new "farce." As long ago as World War I General Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Corps in Europe, arrogantly exhorted his subordinates: "We have come here not for the Europeans but for Americans, for ourselves. Make a point of remembering that the front line of America's defense passes through European lands!"

This idea of Americocentrism has not been forgotten in our time. In 1982 the U.S. president declared in approximately the same "New World" spirit: "It should not be forgotten that we are not in West Europe to do the Europeans a service. The United States keeps its soldiers there because this meets our national interests." That frank statement still further complements a cynical conclusion contained in a Hudson Institute report: "We would like our allies to shoulder more of the common burden, but, as the most important military and economic power, we would like to make various decisions on their behalf." Let us add for our part: without asking the advice or consent of the West Europeans themselves.

Having usurped the right to decide on its own all problems affecting the interests of NATO countries, including problems of European security, the United States rejects the machinery of consultations with exceptional contempt and resorts to refined manipulation of the strategic position of West Europe itself. "The impression is created," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in his speech at the 10th PZPR Congress, "that the independent policy of certain West European states has been hijacked and is being taken across the ocean. That, on the pretext of defending security, both the national interests of the peoples and the destinies of our continent's 700-million population and the long-established civilization here are being farmed out."

Washington's endeavors are stepping up the process of deceiving the allies, intimidating them with the imaginary "Soviet military threat," and securing their consent to the deployment of American first-strike nuclear weapons in West Europe. Paul Warnke, former chairman of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Commission [as published], said: "If I were a West European, I would use my hands and feet to beat off Pershings and cruise missiles." West Europe has not managed to do that. By bringing first-strike nuclear weapons onto the European continent, the Pentagon has turned the bloc partners into its hostages.

Or take another example. Having decided to modernize the chemical arsenal and to deploy binary weapons in West Europe, Washington did everything to secure the West European NATO countries' approval for its criminal plans. They were opposed by Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Greece, Luxembourg, and Iceland. But the special procedure for discussing that issue proposed by the Pentagon at the NATO Military Planning Committee session enabled the United States simply to disregard the opinion of its junior partners. As a result, the huge stocks of 3 million units of American chemical ammunition will soon be increased to 5 million units. The majority of them will be deployed at dumps in the FRG, Britain, Italy, and Turkey.

Washington's blatant disregard of the allies' opinion was manifested in its rejection of the SALT II treaty. Aware that such a step could give rise to an uncontrolled arms race and lead to a still greater threat to European security, all the NATO members opposed the treaty's rejection. However, the desire to gain the upper hand in the military competition and adventurism proved greater than the ideas of "Atlantic solidarity" and the sense of prudence. The White House did not even deem it necessary to consult its bloc partners on this issue.

The process of drawing the allies into American imperialism's global adventures has assumed the nature of a carefully planned action called "coalition strategy" in Pentagonese. This in fact means that the United States would like to shift onto the shoulders of West Europeans a considerable part of the "historic responsibility" for the destiny of the "Free World," with which, above all, it identifies itself; in other words, it would like to mount the pedestal of world supremacy on its allies' shoulders. This is why the United States, not believing in the "reliability" or earthbound militarist fetters, is seeking to hobble the bloc partners with space trammels. Here they are not only being lured with costly plans to implement the American "star wars" program but also being pushed into creating a European copy known as Euro-SDI.

It should be pointed out that the ruling circles of individual West European NATO countries, displaying vassal-like submissiveness, unconditionally support the majority of irresponsible U.S. actions in the international arena which threaten peace and Europe. London and Bonn are particularly zealous in this respect. The British Tories, dreaming of restoring Britain's imperial greatness and believing in the "special relationship" with the United States, have totally subordinated the country's military policy to the aims of the Pentagon's military-political strategy. Washington is served no less zealously by Bonn politicians. West German reactionary circles reckon that, in gratitude for playing up to the United States, the latter will help the Federal Republic to create a powerful militarist potential sufficient to realize the dream of a new Reich within the 1937 borders. Unfortunately, other West European governments, waiving their countries' national interests. Also allow the strong-arm methods of American diplomacy to be practiced on themselves.

At the same time, there is growing understanding in West European public circles of what vassal-like dependence on the United States could lead to. "The joint defense of the West is increasingly being subordinated to the egoistic interests of the American military-industrial machine. The fact is that U.S. "concern" for the "good" of west Europe is least of all connected with the allies' real security interests. Even such a double-dyed anticommunist as the now-deceased French philosopher R. Aron wrote: "West Europe's dependence on the United States in ensuring its defense is by its nature an unhealthy phenomenon." And M. Smith of the Manchester Institute of Science and Technology emphasizes in his book "West Europe and the United States: Indeterminate Alliance" that "the price of U.S. guarantees could be the devastation of central and West Europe in a war which does not threaten the American continent."

The United States has always been interested in maintaining tension in Europe because the state of expecting a "Soviet invasion" enables Washington to keep West European countries in the position of a political dominion. Life has confirmed that the idea of Atlantic partnership was designed right from the start, and has never ceased to be used by the United States, to prey in a parasitic way on fear of the "Soviet threat." To exploit politically and economically the West Europeans' trust in NATO's "peacemaking mission" and the U.S. leading role.

By allowing their alliance to be treated as "Washington's poodle," the weekly TRIBUNE wrote, the NATO countries assume a heavy responsibility for the "syndrome of appeasement" of their "elder brother" across the ocean, whose behavior hardly fits within the framework of international security in the nuclear age.

/12624

CSO: 1807/359

WESTERN EUROPE

FRG FIGURE ACCUSES STRAUSS OF SEEKING NUCLEAR ARMS

LD052139 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 5 Aug 86

[Text] Bonn August 5 TASS--TASS correspondent Vladimir Serov reports:

Bavaria's prime minister Franz Josef Strauss is trying to obtain fissionable materials for the production of nuclear weapons in violation of the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which was signed by Bonn. Such accusations were made in Bundestag by Wolfgang Roth, deputy chairman of the SPD group in Bundestag.

Speaking in an interview with the Cologne newspaper "EXPRESS", Wolfgang Roth, a prominent SPD figure, said that Strauss, who during the years of chancellor Adenauer administration was minister for atomic issues and defence minister, has already long tried to obtain nuclear weapons for the FRG. Being a major central European State, Strauss believes, the FRG should have, following the example of France and Britain, its own nuclear weapons.

In spite of powerful protests, the prime minister is seeking the construction in Wackersdorf in Bavaria of a big plant for recycling used nuclear fuel. The side product of recycling is plutonium. After some purification, Helmut Hirsch, a prominent nuclear physicist, said, it can be used for the production of nuclear weapons.

As the press said, the Wackersdorf works is to produce nearly five tons of plutonium which is enough to fit out 500 nuclear warheads. It is noteworthy that its construction is to be completed by 1995 when the term of the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is due to expire.

/12624

CSO: 1812/157

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

PROBLEMS STEMMING FROM CHINESE ECONOMIC REFORMS NOTED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 22, 27 May-2 Jun 86 pp 4-5

[Article by I. Ushakov under the rubric "At Readers' Requests": "China Under Economic Reform Conditions"]

[Text] The most fruitful period in the development of the PRC economy, as today is recognized in China itself, relates, it seems, to the 1950's. It is precisely at that time, largely due to the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, that the foundation was laid in China for a relatively integrated and independent economic system.

Today in China they also believe that the last 7 years (1979-1985) had good results. Thus, during the period of the 6th Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) the average annual gross production growth rate for industry and agriculture was 11 percent, and the gross national product grew 10 percent, which in China itself is linked most of all with ongoing reforms. Undoubtedly they play a role, but it is not always unambiguous.

THE PROBLEMS OF "FAMILY CONTRACTING"

They began talking about reforms in China in the late 1970's. In December 1978, at the third plenum of the KPK [Chinese Communist Party] Central Committee 11th Conference, decisions were made about introducing substantial adjustments into agricultural policy. The Chinese village began to shift from a collective economy to the so-called system of contractual responsibility. The most appropriate form was recognized to be "family contracting," which by the start of 1984 encompassed 99.8 percent of the peasants. Its essence consists of a closer link between workers' incomes and economic results. A family is allotted a plot of land for a period, as a rule, of up to 15 years, which formally remains public property. Then the family receives a task to produce one or another type of agricultural product. If it overfulfills this task it has the right to sell the excess on the free market.

To stimulate development of the agrarian sector, purchase prices were raised, the most backward areas were freed from agricultural taxes and peasants were allowed to purchase the most varied equipment, even tractors, trucks, etc.

All of this taken together had tangible results. Thus, during the 6th Five-Year Plan the average annual production of grain was 370.62 million tons; an increase of 65.32 million tons compared to the corresponding index in the previous five-year plan.

It is true that the village reform also engendered a number of problems. Thus, the growth of labor productivity in agriculture is releasing substantial labor resources. This is an entirely natural process, but it is going on to such a degree and so swiftly that it is causing disquiet on the part of the Chinese leaders. Some Chinese specialists believe that already today there are 150 million "excess peasants" in the country. To some degree it is planned to solve this problem in China through so-called volost [small rural district] and settlement enterprises, a flourishing growth of which has been observed in recent years in rural areas. They now number 8 million. More than 60 million people are working in these enterprises.

Another problem is growing property stratification in the village. On the one hand, as the Chinese press reports, the country has approximately 70 million people living below the official poverty line (it is defined as an average annual income of 200 yuan per capita), and on the other hand there are houses with an annual income exceeding 10,000 yuan. Moreover, as is now recognized in China, the PRC mass media clearly hastened to publicize noisily these well-to-do houses. In order to smooth out excessive differences in the incomes of various groups, China intends to embark upon the active use of taxes.

Finally, the shift to "family contracting" had a negative effect on forms of agricultural activity which require collective efforts. This refers to land use measures, combating disasters and water resources construction, which, due to the specifics of Chinese agriculture, are extremely important for its success. "Family" contracting, practice shows, frequently leads to a situation in which the peasants prefer not to look "beyond their own door" and are unwilling participants in such measures.

PRICE POLICY

In 1985 China made its next step in carrying out the village reform. In particular, abolition of the previous system of mandatory state purchases of a number of important agricultural products, including grain, was announced. Moreover, a system of contracts was introduced for the delivery by peasants of certain types of products in strictly limited amounts. These contracts are concluded with the peasants before harvesting. All other products can be sold by their producers on the free market. In parallel with this, state price controls in the cities were relaxed on approximately 1,500 types of so-called non-primary agricultural goods, for example vegetables, as well as for pork.

These measures are explained in China by the fact that today's retail prices, which for a long time remained virtually unchanged, do not reflect the real costs of production and do not take into account the demand factor. Moreover, today's purchase prices for certain types of agricultural products are higher than retail prices. The state had to cover this difference, which increased due to the rise in purchase prices in recent years, from its own treasury. This places a heavy burden on its budget. Thus, in 1984 subsidizing of the

agrarian sector cost the government 20.8 billion yuan, which constituted approximately one-seventh of the state budget expenditures. Meanwhile, China cannot yet completely reject subsidized prices, since this will contradict the social policy which the PRC Government is carrying out. Supply standards are still retained in the cities for low priced grain and vegetable oil.

In the future, it is planned to orient the Chinese agrarian sector on market competition, which they believe will also establish an efficient structure for agricultural production and an efficient pricing structure. The role of the state will boil down to regulating the market and prices through various economic, administrative and legal means. The first step in this direction were the steps taken in 1985. It is believed in China that granting the peasants greater opportunities to obtain income from their products on the free market will enable them to organize production so that it more fully corresponds to demand.

It is true that even these measures are not absolutely efficient. Thus, prices for food products, on which state control was relaxed, immediately rose an average of 30 percent. This noticeably hit the pocketbook of Chinese consumers. On the whole the retail price index in the PRC grew 9 percent in 1985. On the other hand, having received greater freedom of choice, some peasants who previously grew grain switched to the production of more advantageous agricultural crops. The area sown in grains declined by 2.5 million hectares. As is recognized today in China, this, along with unfavorable weather conditions, led in 1985 to a 28.33 million ton reduction in grain production by comparison with 1984.

INDUSTRIAL REFORM

While the reform in the village was in full swing, all the way through the end of 1984 industrial reform was limited to experiments, although they also were of a large scale nature. In October 1984 the third plenum of the CCP Central Committee 12th Conference made a decision to carry out a reform of the country's entire economic system, with stress on industry, or, as they say in China on "the city."

The essence of the reform boils down to the fact that enterprises must be freed from excessive tutelage from the side of state administrative organs. The authority of enterprises is expanding. They are obtaining greater independence in questions of planning, production and sale of products; price formation and the establishment and use of internal funds for wages and bonuses. Under the new conditions an enterprise, after it fulfills the state target, has the right independently to sell excess products at higher prices. Enterprises are placed in more harsh economic conditions: they must bear responsibility for their profits and losses. Thus, we are talking about cost accounting and self-repayment. The role of such economic incentives as prices, taxes and credits is increasing. A system of taxes on profit has been recognized as more appropriate than past practice, under which enterprises withheld all profits.

A special place in the reform is devoted to prioritization of the price and wage system. It is recognized that the existing price system is irrational.

Thus, prices for raw materials and energy are understated and those for finished industrial products are overstated. Moreover, prices do not reflect differences in the quality of goods. One of the main measures in the price reform will be to narrow the sphere of state price formation and expand the field of use of free market prices. As for wages, the task will be posed to more closely link the amounts of enterprise wage funds with the results of their activity.

A year and a half have passed since the third plenum of the CCP Central Committee 12th Conference. And today it is frankly recognized in China that far from everything is going smoothly. Thus, the use of credit and consumption funds has gotten out of state control. Many enterprise managers have begun frequently and without justification to appeal to banks for credit, to increase wages groundlessly and give bonuses. Thus, in 1984 the wage fund increased 19 percent, and in 1985 it increased 20 percent. This is substantially higher than the increase in national income (1984 -- 12 percent; 1985 -- 13 percent) and that of labor productivity (in 1985 it was 9 percent in state enterprises). As a result, more money appeared in circulation than necessary. Some of it was not supported by products.

The economy began to "overheat," the growth of investments in capital construction outside of the budget continued, and their structure was unfavorable. The share of investments in such branches as transport, power and the extracting industry, which over the course of recent years were weak points in the Chinese economy, turned out to be excessively low. At the same time, capital investments in the processing industry and non-productive sphere were excessive. All of this created an extremely intense situation with respect to raw materials, materials, energy and fuel, which provoked price increases for them. To this was added the low quality of many types of manufactured products.

It must be said that China has been able to assess soberly the situation which has taken shape in the economy. Already in 1985 measures began to be taken to eliminate errors. The banks were actively involved in solving the problem of swollen credit and consumption funds. In 1986 it was decided not to implement major steps in carrying out the price reform. At the same time the state is attempting to gain control of price increases. Development of grain farming is being stimulated. Peasants engaged in growing grain are being given chemical fertilizers by the state at advantageous prices, and are being given priority in issuance of credit. Finally, China has started to develop economic legislation, since the absence of corresponding legal documents was one of the main causes of the difficulties confronted by the reform.

The accumulation of economic problems was also carefully analyzed at the recently held session of the VSNP [All-Chinese Assembly of National Representatives]. There it was recognized that in the last 2 years the rates of industrial growth in the country were excessively high, the scale of capital construction was too extensive, and its structure was irrational. All of this was considered in compiling the next five-year plan (1986-1990).

9069

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CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

PENTAGON-KAL ECONOMIC TIES NOTED, MILITARY LINKS ALLEGED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jul 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by S. Agafonov, IZVESTIYA correspondent, under the rubric "A Journalist Conducts an Investigation": "We Have No Comment"]

[Text] I will state frankly that I happened upon the issue of the South Korean newspaper CHOSON ILBO with which everything began by accident.

On the first floor of the Tokyo city library, where the periodical section is located, the foreign newspaper files are stored neatly and accurately and the May pile of CHOSON ILBO, from all appearances, was simply forgotten by one of the readers on the table. I began to leaf through it out of curiosity. And in the 29 May issue, material published on the second page attracted my attention. In the headline the Korean alphabet was combined with graphic drawings so that it was possible to understand the meaning.

It concerned the participation of the South Korean aviation company KAL in weapons production. The article was also accompanied by two photographs. In one photograph a helicopter was hanging in the air, and in the other an aircraft turbine stood in a repair shop. I made a copy of this material and asked my Japanese colleagues who were versed in the Korean language to help me understand its content.

The article turned out to be extremely interesting. It indicated that the well-known civilian aviation company KAL, which is engaged in passenger and cargo transport, is a long-time Pentagon contractor and has the closest relations with the American military department. KAL has series produced military helicopters since 1976. In 1984 it concluded a contract with American weapons concerns to produce and export 720 vehicles of a new type, equipped with machine guns and "Tow" missiles. The deal was worth \$100 million. In 1982 the company signed an agreement with the Pentagon to repair helicopters, fighters and other aviation equipment in the inventories of the U. S. Army, Navy and Air Force. This year, in contract with the Northrop Corporation, the KAL began to manufacture F-5F fighters.

In and of itself the fact of close ties between the Pentagon and the South Korean civilian firm is sufficiently eloquent. However, what makes it of particularly keen interest is the circumstance that the main hero here is KAL,

the same aviation company whose aircraft was carrying out a spy mission in Soviet airspace and was shot down. In the propagandistic hysteria unleashed about this incident by Western propaganda, the thesis about the entirely civilian affiliation of KAL was one of the keys. But the CHOSON ILBO publication directly contradicts this argument. After all, if KAL is a Pentagon contractor, then it can be assumed that the notorious Flight 007 from Anchorage was not an ordinary passenger flight. Given the stable business relationships between KAL and the Pentagon this flight could easily have been used by its overseas partner for special purposes.

I sat at the telephone and attempted to find out additional information about the newspaper publication.

First I dialed the number of the Tokyo corporate office of CHOSON ILBO. But its chief, having learned what was of concern to IZVESTIYA, turned out to be so overworked that he could not even come to the phone. Then I phoned to Seoul, to the chief editor of the newspaper. I ended up talking with a Mr. (Syu), a reviewer. When he heard my request he invited the author of the publication to the telephone. That was (Tsay Zhun Myn), deputy chief of the economic department of CHOSON ILBO.

Mr. (Tsay) was also not disposed to conversation. It was possible to learn from him only that the article was written based on materials which he had received from business circles, and that the publication was purely economic, and the facts relative to the links between KAL and the Pentagon were brought out solely as secondary illustrations. As for the remaining questions, the deputy chief refused to answer them, citing the lack of diplomatic relations between our countries.

My next phone call was to the Tokyo office of KAL. Mr. Kim, chief of the general department, breathed silently into the receiver for a long time after my presentation. Then he answered that he was not involved in big political issues, could be of no help, and did not know about links with the Pentagon. The only thing which I was able to get from him was the number of the KAL headquarters in Seoul. I phoned there. I explained to a young female voice who I am and why I had called. The voice asked me to wait and a 10 minute pause began, filled with quiet music. Then, after a short time I was transferred from hand to hand immediately to several departments. First the international department, then advertising and, finally, the press relations department.

Mr. Chin scrupulously determined the issue of the paper, the page on which the article appeared, the size of the article, and even expressed interest in the content of the photos. Then he left, and when he returned he stated that he did not see CHOSON ILBO for 29 May, could say nothing about the publication and in general was not involved. "Perhaps, someone other than yourself is involved?" I asked. "None of us are involved," he answered. In conclusion he advised that I make a written request to KAL and attach a copy of the article with a detailed listing of questions.

Thus, two substantial circumstances resulted from my two Seoul conversations: First, CHOSON ILBO confirmed the accuracy of the published facts, although it

called them secondary; second, the KAL management demonstrated a stubborn desire not to acknowledge these facts. I could not believe that no copy of the 29 May issue of the newspaper was found in the KAL headquarters, since CHOSON ILBO was one of the three largest South Korean publications, and, moreover, I was able to determine that KAL receives it in several copies.

Since the South Korean avenue had exhausted itself, I decided to refer to the American side. It did not take much time to chose to whom to direct my questions. The most competent organ for questions related to Pentagon activities in the Asiatic and Pacific region is rightfully considered the newspaper PACIFIC STARS AND STRIPES, which is published especially for the personnel at American military bases. So I phoned there.

First a raspy voice tried to deflect all of my questions, appealing to the fact that the newspaper is totally military and is not involved with civilian publications. Then I was referred to the South Korean Embassy, since CHOSON ILBO is published in South Korea. Then the voice stated: "This does not concern us at all." But, I did not buy this standard phrase. After all we were talking namely about the Pentagon, and not about something else. Finally, following long wrangling, I was given the telephone number of the editor.

I called that number. Some (Stem Patterson) picked up the phone. I read him excerpts from CHOSON ILBO. "And what do you want," asked Mr. Patterson. I answered that I wanted to hear comments from American military officials as to whether they agreed with the publication and whether the facts stated in the paper were correct and corresponded to reality. "Wait a minute," stated Patterson. "I must get in touch with someone." I waited. I noted the time. Six minutes passed. "Are you still there?" asked Patterson. "I'm here," I responded. "We have no comment." "Does this mean that you do not refute the statement that the Pentagon has links with the South Korean KAL aviation company?" "We have no comment." (Stam Patterson) rang off. The conversation ended.

In the U. S., Japan and other Western countries to this day propagandistic stories appear, in various genres, devoted to South Korean KAL Flight 007 out of Anchorage. They contain a great deal. However, there is not a word about the spy mission of 007 or about the scale of the provocation made by American intelligence. Nor is there the truth about KAL -- the Pentagon contractor and reliable executor of American orders.

9069

CSO: 1807/0337

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

USSR-PRC TRADE RELATIONS DISCUSSED

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by M. Bureyev: "USSR-PRC: The Trade Volume Is Growing"]

[Text] Trade is the most stable form of relations between the Soviet Union and China. In the 1980's, both countries sought actively to revive it and to develop it further. In the last 5 years, the annual volume of Soviet-Chinese trade increased from 176.8 million rubles to 1.6 billion rubles, or by a factor of more than nine.

The Soviet Union is now delivering to China various types of machinery, equipment and means of transport. Included are civilian aircraft, trucks and passenger cars, and mining and power equipment. Also supplied are ferrous and nonferrous metals, cement mineral fertilizers, chemicals and lumber. About one-third of Soviet exports to China are machinery and technical products.

The PRC, in turn, exports to the Soviet Union mined raw materials, various agricultural products, textiles and many other consumer goods.

In 1984 and 1985, there was an exchange of visits by I.V. Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Yao Yilin, vice deputy of the State Council of the PRC. They laid a good foundation for the further development of economic ties between our countries.

Until 1985, trade between the USSR and the PRC was on the basis of intergovernmental agreements entered into annually. The sides came to the conclusion that such a practice does not fully correspond to the task of further increasing trade. The result was the signing of the first long-term agreement between the governments of the USSR and the PRC on the commodity turnover and payments for the years 1986 through 1990 in the history of Soviet-Chinese relations. The volume of trade in this period is supposed to amount to about 12 billion rubles on a balanced basis, including 3 billion rubles in 1990, which is almost twice the current level.

Under the agreement, China will import from the Soviet Union aircraft, motor vehicles, power equipment, railroad rolling stock, agricultural machinery, ferrous and nonferrous metals, and output of the chemical industry. The USSR will receive from China tungstic concentrate, fluorite, soybeans, corn,

peanuts, meat and meat products, apples, citrus fruits, cotton fabrics, yarn, knitted and sewn goods, tea, bristles, sports shoes, Thermos bottles, and the output of the chemical and machine building industries.

Besides the long-term trade agreement, an agreement on economic and technical cooperation in the construction and reconstruction of industrial facilities in the PRC was also signed during the visit of Yao Yilin to Moscow.

In the 1950's, as everyone knows, more than 200 industrial enterprises comprising the framework of Chinese socialist industry were built in China with the material and technical assistance of the USSR. Over a period of 30 years, a certain amount of the plant and equipment of these enterprises has become worn out and is now in need of modernization and replacement. Under the mentioned agreement, the Soviet Union will help China in the reconstruction of a number of facilities and in the building of several new ones.

In particular, there are plans to reconstruct 17 enterprises in the metallurgical, coal, machine building and chemical industries and to take part in the construction of 7 facilities. It is foreseen that the USSR will deliver six power blocks with an overall capacity of 3.6 million kilowatts for three thermal electric power stations and equipment for power transmission lines and for the electrification of a railroad line 1,000 kilometers long and that it will take part in the construction of an open pit for the extraction of coal using the open method.

Trade near the border is an important channel in the commodity turnover between our countries. After a lengthy interruption, it was renewed in 1982 between Khabarovsk and Primorskiy kray and Amursk and Chita oblasts on the Soviet side and the province of Heilungkiang and the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia on the Chinese side. Its volume last year amounted to 24.2 million rubles, which is almost five times as great as the maximum level of the 1960's. Beginning in 1986, border trade will be renewed between the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region of the PRC and the Soviet Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan and the contiguous rayons of the RSFSR over the border points of Khorgos and Turugart. Its further development will make it possible to seek additional resources for increasing the commodity turnover between the USSR and the PRC.

The increase in the commodity turnover and the expansion of the products list requires the resolution of various transport problems, to which the sides are paying a great deal of attention. In particular, it is planned in 1986 to renew the transport of cargo between the USSR and the PRC by river.

To a considerable extent, the exchange of exhibitions contributes to the development of trade and economic ties. Two years ago in Moscow, an exposition of the Ministry of Geology and Mineral Resources of the PRC was organized within the framework of the international exhibition "Geokarta." At that time, the Soviet Union took part in an international exhibition of medical equipment and instruments and a year later in the "ASPAT-85" international fair in Beijing and China participated in the "Interbytmash-85" show in Moscow.

The Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the USSR and the Chinese committee for aiding the development of international trade signed an agreement on cooperation. In particular, it provides for mutual assistance for the purpose of participating in international shows and carrying out trade and economic exhibitions in both countries as well as commercial negotiations, technical exchanges, conferences and other concomitant measures. In accordance with the agreement, as early as the summer of this year there will be a trade and industry exhibition of the PRC in Moscow and a trade and industry exhibition of the USSR in Beijing in December. They are being awaited with great interest in both countries.

At the 27th CPSU Congress, there was still another declaration of the striving of the USSR to develop trade and economic relations with China. In particular, it was stated that "the commodity turnover with the People's Republic of China will be expanded significantly."

The decisions of the first session of the Soviet-Chinese commission on economic, commercial and scientific-technical cooperation that took place in March in Beijing were another confirmation of the possibilities for the further development of bilateral and mutually advantageous cooperation. They are a good incentive for raising the effectiveness of Soviet-Chinese commercial ties, for improving their forms, and for making them more diverse and dynamic.

9746

CSO: 1825/82

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

JAPANESE SOCIALISTS' DELEGATION IN ALMA-ATA

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 4 May 1986 carries on page 3 a 300-word KazTAG brief entitled "Guests from Japan." The brief reports on a visit by a delegation of the Japanese Socialist Party. The delegation, headed by K. Hashimoto, responsible secretary of the group of delegates from the Japanese Socialist Party chosen at a Yamagata Prefecture meeting, was received by the oblast party committee and toured points of interest. /6662

CSO: 1832/415

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

MOZAMBIQUE: PROGRESSIVE TRENDS, NOT RENAMO RAIDS STRESSED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 June 86 p 5

[Article by L. Shinkarev, under the heading "June 25, Mozambique Independence Day": "From the Ruvuma to Maputo"]

[Text] The Ruvuma, the border river that divides northern Mozambique from southern Tanzania for 650 km, is full of rapids, like a mountain stream. Its banks are lined with "miombo," or dry tropical forest, and reddish, fertile land, the home of the Makonde people, perhaps the most famous ivory-carvers in Africa. It was here, in Makomia Province, in the village of Chai, that 11 members of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] attacked a Portuguese military post on 25 September 1964, setting the stage for 10 years of armed struggle which ended in Maputo with the striking of the Portuguese flag and the emergence of an independent Mozambique.

We traveled from central Cabo Delgado Province in the north to Makomia in "land-rovers," accompanied by four soldiers with automatic weapons. The forest road was patrolled by the people's militia, peasants with rifles. There are no guerilla bases of the so-called "Mozambique National Resistance [Movement]" [MNRM] (Renamo), supported by the RSA [Republic of South Africa] and the West, in this province, but two days prior to our trip, a group of guerillas entered it from neighboring Nampula, shooting up a vehicle 30 km inside Makomia: two people were killed and three were wounded. The populace took up arms. "The guerillas won't get through here," says Jose Mugalla, sitting next to me. He is first secretary of the Frelimo party committee and the administrator of Makomia.

Mugalla, son of a veteran of the liberation struggle, fought alongside his father as an adolescent and now leads a district in which 60,000 of his fellow countrymen live in four dozen or so forest-sheltered villages on a high plateau. They include the comrades with whom he began a new life in the first regions liberated. Some of his comrades-in-arms now live in Litamande, one of the collective villages. Nearly 400 peasants have joined the cooperative, which is named after a comrade who died in battle, Samuel Cancomba.

The village grows rice, manioc and corn. The peasants work the public lands together and use collectively-owned implements. The cooperative is small, as are a majority of the others. The peasant mashambas (plots) remain the basis of agriculture here as the so-called "seed sector," which was significantly damaged

by a five-year drought and by the continuous military operations, which led to starvation in a number of provinces. But the district administrator is confident that the cooperatives and the thus-far weak state sector will be a management training ground for the future.

The Nguri State Irrigation System built by the state in his district is also convincing his fellow-countrymen of this. It can provide water to 1,000 ha. The task is to encourage the peasants, who are accustomed to hoeing their own mashambas as their fathers and grandfathers did, to take an interest in something new to them, in modern methods of working the land. "We are teaching by example, not by word," says Mugalla.

This example is especially important in developing the state sector in key sectors of the economy. After winning independence, the country nationalized some industrial enterprises, banking and insurance companies, sea and rail transport, and foreign trade. The state sector soon began playing a leading role in the economic restructuring. Frelimo party plans for overcoming the economic backwardness inherited from colonialism anticipate increasing state influence on economic development. With regard to local and foreign private capital, the government is striving to conduct a flexible policy which allows entrepreneurship "within the framework of state economic policy," as stated in the PRM [People's Republic of Mozambique] Constitution.

It is being effected under growing pressure by international imperialist circles, foremost the USA, which have chosen neighboring, racist RSA as their strike force. The apartheid regime supplies MNRM [Renamo] guerillas with everything they need and encourages the tens of thousands of former Portuguese colonists who fled Mozambique and found refuge in the Transvaal to cooperate with them. The "war of attrition" started by international reaction is costing the lives of many completely innocent people.

Asserting that there are Mozambique provinces and tribes in revolt, Western propaganda attempts to use these rumors to confuse world public opinion, to distract it from the broad imperialist conspiracy and outside aggression against this young country.

As the Mozambique press writes, reactionary elements which have remained inside the country from colonial times are party to this conspiracy. They count on aggravating social problems even further, reviving tribalist feelings, and preventing the establishment of a unified Mozambique nation. But in the final analysis, they are pushing the country towards compromise with the forces of imperialism.

Under these conditions, Mozambique is steadily adhering to an independent foreign policy and joins other "front-line" states of Southern Africa in speaking out for the elimination of racism and neocolonialism in the area. The Mozambique people have sided with the ANC and SWAPO, which are waging a courageous battle against the apartheid regime.

Mozambique's position has met with understanding in countries of the socialist community, which are providing the young state with economic and scientific-technical assistance. The Soviet Union is helping Mozambique with projects

important to its following a path of independent development. During our trip through Cabo Delgado, we met Soviet construction workers, and the airplane I returned to Maputo on was operated by a joint Soviet-Mozambique crew.

At an enlarged meeting in February-March, the Frelimo Party Central Committee Politburo examined the political, economic and military situation and took steps to strengthen the state and party apparatus, rearranging the party and government leadership and making new assignments to it. A broad economic development program was outlined. The Mozambique people are restructuring their society on progressive principles, comprehending increasingly more profoundly the meaning of the slogan with which encounters between the leaders and the people and the people and each other are customarily concluded here: "'a luta continua' -- the struggle continues."

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

SEYCHELLES INDEPENDENT ECONOMIC, POLITICAL COURSE PRAISED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jun 86 p 5

[Article by IZVESTIYA political commentator V. Matveyev: "Seychelles Today"]

[Text] Today, countries which value their sovereignty and are firmly resolved to contribute to strengthening peace, even quite small ones, are participating actively in international politics and influencing events affecting more than just their own regions.

The Seychelles Islands are one such state. It is a republic scattered across nearly 100 islands in the western Indian Ocean. The largest is Mahe' Island, with the capital city of Victoria, population 23,000. The population of the island itself is 58,000, with a total republic population of 64,000. Expanses of ocean separate the coral and granite islands which form the Seychelles archipelago. The most distant island, Aldabra Atoll, is more than 1,000 km from Mahe'.

Colonizers reached here two centuries ago. The islands were under the authority of the British Crown, which replaced a French administration, for more than 160 years. Independence was proclaimed on 28 June 1976. Diplomatic relations were established between the Seychelles and the Soviet Union at that time.

A decade is not a long time, but this young republic has already had to deal more than once with foreign forces, with armed attempts to establish in the Seychelles a system suitable to foreign plunderers. The last such attempt was by mercenaries of the racist RSA [Republic of South Africa] regime in late 1981. A UN-assisted investigation showed that the threads of this unsuccessful armed coup d'etat led directly to RSA intelligence centers and beyond....

For what reason? Why would this tiny island state bring down on itself the wrath of states already governing huge territories?

The strategic position of the Seychelles is one reason for heightened interest in it by those who think in global terms, who are trying to hang onto racist and other oppression through the use of crude force.

Through the efforts of the military cliques of the USA and Britain, the tiny island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean has been transformed into a sort of

unsinkable aircraft carrier armed with nuclear weapons. The gaze of the authors of this strategy is also drawn towards other island territories in the Indian Ocean.

The path of socialist orientation chosen by the Seychelles Islands Republic [Republic of Seychelles] does not please imperialist circles. The republic has been able to achieve indisputable successes in social and economic development in a brief period. Illiteracy has been nearly eliminated. All republic citizens are entitled to free medical care and education. Children are covered by a preschool education system. Young specialists are joining the public health agencies, including Seychelles residents who have graduated from medical VUZ's in the Soviet Union.

Speaking in the National Assembly, Republic of Seychelles President Albert Rene' characterized 1986 as "the start of the industrial revolution." The country has begun putting its fishing, a primary industry, on an industrial base. New agricultural processing enterprises are being built and old ones are being expanded. Studies of the archipelago's resources are being accelerated. These studies include oil prospecting.

The 1986-1990 five-year economic development plan points out that, although the emergence of industry in such a small island nation involves many difficulties, the results have been promising in recent years.

The Seychelles are separated from our country by thousands of kilometers, but distance does not interfere with ties based on mutual advantage and equal rights, with cooperation. Last year, Soviet scientific vessels completed a series of studies in the Seychelles economic zone. Their object is to use ocean resources for that country's economy. The USSR is carrying out equipment and building materials delivery contracts to meet republic needs. Cultural cooperation is also being developed successfully.

Tourism is an important sector for the Seychelles. This Indian Ocean archipelago is rich in rare flora and fauna. Soviet tourists can find much that is interesting and unusual here. Ties between states based on equal rights and respect for sovereign rights hold considerable opportunities in this area of cooperation as well.

In the international arena, Seychelles is speaking out for the elimination of all military bases and facilities in the Indian Ocean, for converting it into a peace zone. This republic's voice in defense of peace carries weight and authority.

History moves on. Our era is opening up opportunities for any state, regardless of size, which strives for the triumph of reason and justice, which strives to make a worthwhile contribution to creating a better world.

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